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THE CONSTRUCTION OF PAGAN IDENTITY IN LITHUANIAN "PAGAN METAL" CULTURE

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SUMMARY

Neo Pagan ideas and worldviews are not only expressed through religion. Romantic notions of religion of ancestors blend into the worldviews of alternative youth cultures, or subcultures (as they call themselves); it is especially visible while looking into metal culture. From the 1990's in all Europe, Pagan ideas were incorporated into metal music and culture. This created a new mixed culture – "Pagan metal" culture.

During fieldwork three different forms of Paganism in Lithuania emerged: religious Paganism, warrior clubs and "Pagan metal" culture. The main object of this work is creation of Pagan identity in Lithuanian "Pagan metal" scene and the main question raised is if "Pagan metal" can be called Pagan and if yes, to what extent. The aims of this work is to describe metal culture in general, to describe "Pagan metal" culture, describe Pagan religious community *"Devyniaragio Romuva*" and to compare them. This work is strongly grounded in authors' fieldwork in "Pagan metal" and religious Pagan communities.

As theoretical framework the concept of "subcultural capital", created by Sarah Thornton is used. This concept draws inspiration from concept of "cultural capital" outlined by Pierre Bourdieu. Concept of "subcultural capital" explains how alternative youth cultures construct their identities as alternative to those of their parents and mainstream society. In place of the "cultural capital" inherited from their parents, members of "subcultures" create new, alternative capital ("subcultural capital"). That consists from values, worldviews, style, behavior, language, musical expression and is different from that what their families or mainstream culture is trying to imply to them. Through this "capital" new identities are forged and empowered.

This thesis consists of introduction, six parts of main body and conclusion. First part introduces the theoretical framework of this thesis (identity, subcultural capital concept). Second part is dedicated for defining neo Paganism and briefly introducing the forms of Paganism in the world and in Lithuania. Third part describes metal culture (history, style and symbols, behavior, worldviews, musical and lyrical content, relations with other groups and mainstream society). Forth part describes "Pagan metal" culture, its style, music, lyrics, symbols, worldviews and rituals, festivals, also, how it relates to general metal culture and how it differs. Fifth part introduces community of "*Devyniaragio Romuva*" that is a form of religious Paganism in Lithuania, describing their rituals, mythology, worldviews, festivals and group relations. Sixth part is a comparison of "Pagan metal" culture and religious Paganism in Lithuania.

While trying to answer the main question if "Pagan metal" can be called Pagan the answer must be yes, that is because this culture has some features common with religious Pagans. It

is especially visible through their view of ancient history and usage of Pagan symbols. But also, the question is can it be called religion? According to data from fieldwork, it can be said that “Pagan metal” share more with alternative youth cultures than with religious communities. “Pagan metal” culture has more in common with alternative youth cultures, due to the fact that it emphasize the importance of rebelliousness towards mainstream society and almost never take religious rituals seriously. Still, the protest against mainstream to members of this culture comes from the understanding and respecting history and worldviews of ancestors.

Keywords: Metal culture, Lithuanian “Pagan metal” culture, Neo Paganism, Identity, alternative youth culture.

SANTRAUKA

Neopagoniški judėjimai yra vieni iš sparčiausiai augančių religinių judėjimų. Centrinė ir Rytų Europa yra rekonstrukcinės Pagonybės lopšys. Šių judėjimų nariai siekia atkurti savo protėvių religijas ir skleisti kitokį dvasingumą nei plačiai paplitusios religijos. Neopagoniški religiniai judėjimai išsiskiria iš kitų religijų savo požiūriu į gamtą ir tradicijas, pagarba istorijai ir dažnai netgi nacionalistinėmis pažiūromis.

Tačiau, Neopagonybės idėjos ir pasaulėžiūros elementai nėra išreiškiami vien per religiją. Romantinis protėvių religijos atspindys įsipynęs ir į alternatyvių jaunimo kultūrų ar subkultūrų (kaip jie vadina save) pasaulėžiūrą. Ypatingai tai išryškėja žvelgiant į Pagoniško metalo kultūrą. Nuo 1990-ųjų, Pagoniškos idėjos paplito tarp to meto „metalistų“ ir išaugo į naują „Pagoniško metalo“ žanrą. Paskutiniame praeito amžiaus dešimtmetyje Skandinaviškas „black“ metalas, pagal dainų tekstų tematiką ir grupių įvaizdžius, skilo į dvi grupes: pirmoji rėmėsi satanistinėmis temomis, o antroji įkvėpimo ieškojo istorijoje ir mitologijoje. Dabar „Pagoniškasis metalas“ išaugo į atskirą žanrą, kuris plačiai paplito Rytų Europoje (Baltijos šalyse, Lenkijoje, Rusijoje, Ukrainoje) ir Skandinavijos šalyse.

Lauko tyrimo metu buvo pastebėta, kad Lietuvoje Neopagonybė atsiskleidžia trimis skirtingomis formomis, tai: religinė Pagonybė, karių klubai ir „Pagoniškas metalas“. Religinė Pagonybė tai stiprios religinės bendruomenės kaip „Romuva“ ir „Devyniaragio Romuva“. Tai tarsi „prieglobstis“ tiems, kurie ieško dvasinio ryšio su protėvių dievais ir dvasiomis. Šios bendruomenės siekia išsaugoti ir skleisti Pagonybę ypatingai per ritualus, folklorą ir edukaciją. Karių klubai bando sujungti Pagoniškus tikėjimus su senaisiais amatais ir karyba. Klubų nariai, kurių didžioji dauguma vyrai, nagrinėja materialinį Baltų kultūros palikimą jungdami jį su gamtos garbinimu ir darnos idėjomis. „Pagoniškasis metalas“ yra tarsi „per vidurį“ tarp religinės pagonybės ir karių klubų. Visų pirma, „Pagoniškasis metalas“ išsiskiria savotiška muzikine ekspresija. Čia Pagonybės idėjos skleidžiamos ne per folklorą, o per metalo muziką. Be to, pagonybės idėjos jungiamos su maištinga metalo kultūros prigimtimi įgyja savotišką vaizdą. Tiek religinė pagonybė, tiek karių klubai Lietuvoje tyrinėti nemažai, tačiau trečioji forma „Pagoniškas metalas“ tiek Lietuvoje, tiek aplinkinėse šalyse tyrinėtas menkai. Tai ir buvo viena iš priežasčių tyrinėti būtent „Pagoniško metalo“ kultūrą. Šiame darbe aprašomos „Pagoniško metalo“ kultūra Lietuvoje bei vina iš religinių Pagoniškų bendruomenių: „Devyniaragio Romuva“ ir bandoma atskleisti kuo šios dvi formos panašios ir kuo skiriasi.

Taigi, pagrindinis šio darbo objektas Lietuvos „Pagoniško metalo“ kultūra. Pagrindinis keliamas klausimas: ar galima „Pagoniškąjį metalą“ vadinti Pagonišku ir kiek

„Pagoniškas metalas“ gali būti tapatinamas su religinėmis bendruomenėmis. Darbo uždaviniai: aprašyti metalo kultūrą Lietuvoje, aprašyti „Lietuvos Pagoniško metalo“ kultūrą, aprašyti religinę „Devyniaragio Romuvos“ bendruomenę ir palyginti „Pagonis metalistus“ su religiniais pagonimis. Darbas paremtas autorės atliktu lauko tyrimu. Naudoti dalyvaujamojo stebėjimo, formalaus ir neformalaus interviu, teksto analizės ir palyginamasis metodai.

Darbas remiasi „subkultūrinio kapitalo“ koncepcija, kurią pristatė Sarah Thornton. Ši koncepcija remiasi P. Bourdieu „kultūrinio kapitalo“ koncepcija. „Subkultūrinis kapitalas“ aiškina kaip alternatyvios jaunimo kultūros konstruoja savo identitetą kaip alternatyvų tėvų ir visuomenės primetamam. Alternatyvių jaunimo kultūrų nariai kuria „subkultūrinį kapitalą“, kuris susideda iš vertybių, pasaulėžiūros, įvaizdžio, elgesio, kalbos ir muzikos. Kartu „subkultūrinis kapitalas“ tampa nauju identitetu, kurį žmogus susikuria pats sau, priešpriešoje su visuomene.

Darbą sudaro įvadas, šešios dėstymo dalys ir išvados. Pirmoje dalyje aptariamas teorinė konstrukcija. Aptariamas identitetas ir „subkultūrinio kapitalo“ koncepcija, pagrindinės jaunimo „subkultūrų“ tyrimo kryptys ir istorija. Antroje dalyje aptariama kas yra Neopagonybė, kaip šį fenomeną apibrėžia mokslininkai ir patys Neopagonys, trumpai pristatomos Neopagonybės formos pasaulyje ir Lietuvoje. Trečioje dalyje aprašoma metalo kultūra, jos istorija, įvaizdis, simboliai, elgesys, pasaulėžiūra, muzika ir dainų tekstai, ryšiai su kitomis grupėmis ir visuomene. Ketvirtoje dalyje pateikiamas „Pagoniško metalo“ kultūros aprašymas, kalbama apie „pagonių metalistų“ įvaizdį, simbolius, muziką, dainų tekstus, pasaulėžiūrą, mitologiją ir ritualus, šventes ir festivalius. „Pagoniškas metalas“ lyginamas su metalistų kultūra, ieškoma kuo „Pagonys metalistai“ skiriasi nuo kitų „metalistų“. Penkta dalis skirta aprašyti religinę Pagonišką bendruomenę „Devyniaragio Romuva“, aprašomi jų ritualai, mitologija, pasaulėžiūra, šventės ir grupės tarpusavio ryšiai. Šeštoje dalyje pateikiamas „Pagonių metalistų“ ir „Devyniaragio Romuvos“ narių palyginimas.

Atsakant į pagrindinį klausimą reikia pasakyti, kad „Pagoniškas metalas“ pelnytai vadinamas Pagonišku, nes kai kurios pasaulėžiūros ir mitologijos detalės bei simboliai sutampa su religinių Pagonių. Tačiau reikia pabrėžti, kad „Pagoniškas metalas“ yra artimesnis alternatyvioms jaunimo kultūroms, nes jam būdingas maištingumo prieš „pilkąją“ visuomenę ir masinę religiją iškėlimas virš visų kitų pasaulėžiūros elementų.

Raktažodžiai: Metalo kultūra, Lietuvos ‚Pagoniškojo metalo“ kultūra, Neopagonybė, identitetas, alternatyvi jaunimo kultūra.

INTRODUCTION

Modern Pagan movements are among the fastest growing religious movements in the world. Central and Eastern Europe is the cradle for reconstructions of ancient Pagan religions. Members of those movements are committed to recreate religions of their ancestors and to express spirituality different from the wide spread religions like Christianity. Rise and popularity of these groups could be stimulated by the process of globalization, due to the fact that it promotes religious pluralism. People, who are disappointed by contemporary world, alienation of people or the mainstream religion, look for various new "alternative" ways of life.

Pagan ideas and worldviews are not only expressed through religion. Romantic notions of religion of ancestors blend into the worldviews of alternative youth cultures, or subcultures (as they call themselves); it is especially visible while looking into metal culture. From the 1990's in all Europe, Pagan ideas were incorporated into metal music and culture. This created a new mixed culture – "Pagan metal" culture.

In Lithuania, after the reestablishment of independence in 1990's the freedom for individuality became possible. This created a wide variety of religious communities, but also, brought to Lithuania various new cultural ideas. Part of those new ideas was alternative youth cultures ("metalheads", "rockers", „punks" and others). In contact with strong national ideas "metalheads" formed Pagan identities. Metal culture of the west transformed from "black metal" culture associated with Satanism to "Pagan metal" culture which celebrates the glory and vitality of the ancient past.

While looking into the situation of Paganism in Lithuania today, religious community of *"Romuva"* is still the largest and most advertised in media, but it must be noted, that popularity and influence of this community is weakening. It especially is visible through Pagan youths. New religious community of *"Devyniaragio Romuva"* was established in 2007 in Klaipėda and now it has two more branches in Vilnius and Kaunas. The organization unites about 60 young people (mostly students) who are fond of Lithuanian Pagan religion and have a slightly different view to it than *"Romuva"*. Also, **religious Paganism** isn't the only form of Paganism in Lithuania; there are many **warrior clubs** like *"Vilkatlakai", "Karionys", "Kovarnis"* and others who combine Pagan religion and worldview with ancient crafts and warfare. **"Pagan metal"** culture can be called the third form of Paganism. "Metalheads" do not try to reconstruct some specifics of ancient living, but they connect themselves to ancestors through symbols and also, see Paganism as a way to rebel

against mainstream religion. “Pagan metal” culture is spread not only in Lithuania, but also in Latvia, Russia, Poland and largely in Scandinavian countries.

Lithuania is only one case of religious Pagan activity. Similar communities flourish in the neighboring states: in Latvia *(“Dievturiai”)*, in Kaliningrad (Prussians), in Poland and in Russia (rebirth of Slavonic faith), in Ukraine (*“Ridnovira”*) in Scandinavia (Asatru and Neo-shamanism).

Actuality of the thesis: Analysis of alternative youth cultures helps to look at the formation of youth identity. Pagan communities also tend to use and propagate traditional Lithuanian culture and music, making an impact to all society. The thesis is also important due to a fact that the events of present time Lithuania are described. It helps to look at the formation of a part of contemporary Lithuanian identity. Also, this work gives a brief overview of one of the oldest and still vivid alternative youth culture (metal culture), that is still stigmatized and stereotyped by society.

Bibliography: As all youth “subcultural” groups, metal culture caught the attention of scholars from fields of sociology, anthropology, musicology and cultural studies. Here, main literature used in this work will be briefly described.

In 1993 musicologist **Robert Walser** published a book called *“Running with the devil – power, gender and madness in heavy metal music”*. This book is musical, social and cultural analysis of “heavy metal”. Walser explores how and why “heavy metal” “works”, both musically and socially and at the same time uses metal to investigate contemporary formations of identity, community, gender and power.

Sociologist **Deena Weinstein** published a book about “heavy metal” music and culture in 2000. In this book she broadly describes “heavy metal” musicians and fans. Author gives genesis and history of “heavy metal” music and culture, describe lyrical content, musical element and style. She writes about musicians and fans. Also, explores how media effects the expressions of “heavy metal”. Few musical styles create such fear as “heavy metal”. Author argues that they rise from misunderstanding of the rebellious metal culture. She analyses the music, artists, and the dress code and interprets lyrics. Furthermore she explains the myths and misconceptions surrounding the “heavy metal” culture.

Another sociologist **Natalie J. Purcell** in her book “*Death metal: the Passion and Politics of Subculture”* (2003) investigates attitudes, ethical systems, philosophy, demography and behavior of fans of “death metal” in USA. She tries to situate “death metal” in the larger social order. Purcell bases her book on her own fieldwork within American “death metal” scene.

In his book *„Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge“* **Keith Kahn-Harris** (2007) provides the step by step guide to extreme metal (“black” and “death” metal). Extreme metal

sounds on the edge of screaming and incomprehensible noise. The members explore dark and dangerous themes as war, occultism, Satanism, death and similar. Author bases his book on his own fieldwork. He shows the extreme metal scene as a space for "metalheads" to explore destructive themes and to create an alternative community. He interviews band members and fans from a number of countries (UK, Sweden, US and others).

David Muggleton in *"Inside Subculture: Post-Modern Meaning of Style"* (2000) talk ostensibly about dress and style in various British subcultures, scholar Muggleton uses clothing largely as a point of departure to explore the values and motives of those who identify themselves, at least partially, as "punk," "goth," "skinhead," or "hippy." With the greater purpose of investigating current claims about the "postmodern" nature of subcultures, Muggleton conducted a series of 57 interviews with subculture participants in Brighton and East Sussex. Subculturalists, he concludes, are postmodern in their identification with fragmentation and heterogeneity but modern in their commitment to individual freedom and self-expression.

Sarah Thornton in her book *"Club Cultures: music, media and subcultural capital"* (1996) writes about British club cultures using her own ethnographic research done in 1988-1992. Also strongly criticize Dick Hebdige through Pierre Bourdieu. Thornton describes club cultures as cultures brought together by media she names them "taste cultures" Author also analyses the recording format from basic entertainment in the 50s till forms of clubs in the 90s. Basing her work on Pierre Bourdieu, author imposes the term "subcultural capital" to distinguish the "mainstream" from the alternative youth cultures. Author creates dichotomies for subcultures - 'hip' vs. other and inverts pop vs. other. Furthermore she recognizes similarities and differences between the artistic and subcultures. Basing on Bourdieu, she investigates subcultural capital as an alternative to cultural capital and economical capital. Thus she states that subcultural capital is the key in rebelliousness against the authorities and living in the fantasy world where no social classes are.

Book "*Modern Paganism in World Cultures: Comparative Perspectives"* (2005) editted by **Michael F. Strmiska** explains the phenomenon of modern Paganism. This is a collection of essays on European-American revivals, reinventions, and reimagining's of ethnically based, traditionally rooted, and nature-based polytheistic practices. Many seek a Reconstructionist approach founded on what can be gleaned from the fragmented practices left behind after hundreds or thousands of years of Christian suppression of native faiths and more "natural" religions. The languages, the myths, the rituals all demand serious discipline. Wide introduction to concept of modern Paganism in the beginning give an overview of complicated field of Paganism studies. Chapters *"Asatru: Nordic Paganism in Iceland and America"* (p.127-208) by Michael F. Strmiska and Baldur A. Sigurvinsson; *"The revival of Ukrainian Native Faith"* (p. 209-240) *and "Romuva:*

Lithuanian Paganism in Lithuania and America" (p. 241 – 297) by Michael F. Strmiska and Vilius Rudra Dunzila was very helpful in gaining knowledge and comparison of Paganism in Lithuania and other countries.

Egidija Ramanauskaitė in her book *"Subkultūra: fenomenas ir modernumas"* (2004) talks about the rise of modern subcultural communities in Lithuania from 70's to 20th century. Author, relating to her own fieldwork, analyzes worldview and self-expression of these communities, their identity and formation of alternative cultural surroundings. One chapter of this book analyze "Pagan metal" culture in Lithuania, formation of their identity, it's expression through music and rituals, worldview and style and their connection to the religious or folkloric Pagan movements.

Subject: to find and define Pagan identity with "Pagan metal" culture and to compare "Pagan metal" identity and its expression with other forms of Paganism in Lithuania. The main question of this thesis is: in what respect can Pagan Metal "subculture" be called Pagan?

Aims:

1. To describe forms of Paganism in Lithuania
2. Describe metal culture: its music, style, symbols, worldview, and relations to society.
3. Describe "Pagan metal" culture. How it differs from general metal culture?
4. Describe religious community of *"Devyniaragio Romuva"*
5. Compare "Pagan metal" culture with religious Paganism

Methods: Methods of this thesis include **participant observation** of religious Pagan community *"Devyniaragis"* and also concerts, festivals and parties of "Pagan metalheads". Methods also include **formal and non-formal interviews** with members of both cultures, **content analysis of group documents** (internet forums and chat room) and **comparative method**.

The research started in March of 2009 and continued until April of 2010. But it must be noted, that this research is continuation to the research of metal culture from August of 2007 to April of 2008 and the material from previous research is also used in this thesis. **Fieldwork** consists of observation of various festivals and concerts, participation in rituals and parties, informal conversations with both religious Pagans and "Pagan metalheads". Data was collected almost exceptionally through informal interviews and conversations, due to a fact, that recording of conversations was discouraging informants. Both groups, I observed are youth groups, with ages ranging from 15 – 25, only some musicians I interviewed were a bit older (around 30 years). The reason for choosing these groups was mainly author's interest in studying metal culture, the bachelor's thesis was also written about this culture. During previous research tendencies of connection between Pagan communities and metal culture were noticed. Also, the religious

community of *"Devyniaragio Romuva"* was selected for comparison due to similar ages and information gained from informants. Furthermore, it is easier to gain access to information in community that consists of people of similar age to researcher.

Furthermore, as sources of understanding metal culture in general various documentaries were used. Actually, the source of inspiration for this research was a documentary by Canadian anthropologist Samuel Dunn "Metal: Headbangers journey" (2005) and "Global metal" (2008). Both these documentaries included wide interviews with metal musicians and fans and described metal culture from music to style to worldviews and so on.

It must be noted, that I am using *"insider"* perspective. Since members of this culture are suspicious about outsiders, being insider is useful for getting more inside knowledge and also it is easier to maintain trust from a group. "Insider" perspective is more useful in researching this kind of communities than "outsider" perspective. It might lead to some sort of bias, but in the beginning I want to disassociate myself from these communities, as my personal ideas are quite different from those of my informants. What is more, speaking of bias, in experience of other researchers, in this kind of studies (especially alternative youth cultures) "insiders" tend to be more objective than "outsiders". Furthermore, "insider" perspective in this type of research is quite common, scholars who research Pagan groups (eclectic or reconstruction Pagans) or various youth cultures ("Goths", "punks", "skinheads") often associate themselves with those groups in one way or another.

Structure:

This thesis consists of introduction, six parts of main body and conclusion. First part introduces the theoretical framework of this thesis (identity, subcultural capital concept). Second part is dedicated for defining neo Paganism and briefly introducing the forms of Paganism in the world and in Lithuania. Third part describes metal culture (history, visual and symbols, behavior, worldviews, musical and lyrical content, relations with other groups and mainstream society). Forth part describes "Pagan metal" culture, its symbols and rituals, festivals, also, how it relates to general metal culture and how it differs. Fifth part introduces community of "*Devyniaragio Romuva*" that is a form of religious Paganism in Lithuania, describing their rituals, mythology, worldviews, festivals and group relations. Sixth part is a comparison of "Pagan metal" culture and religious Paganism in Lithuania.

I. THEORIZING "SUBCULTURE": LOOKING AT SCIENTIFIC STUDIES

Anti-Christian ideas in youth subcultures (especially metal culture) were visible since the very beginning. In 90's those ideas exploded into "black metal" phenomenon with its connections to Satanism. After that it transformed again to Pagan and folk themes. In this work I am going to explore "Pagan metal" phenomenon in Lithuania and try to find out is there such thing as "Pagan metal" identity and if there is - how it is expressed through style, behavior, rituals and song lyrics.

Before looking to scientific literature we must define key terms used in this work. Firstly, term **"subculture"** usually defines alternative youth culture that has distinctive style, worldviews, values and a way of life. In Oxford dictionary subculture is defined as a group or class of lesser importance or size sharing specific beliefs, interests, or values which may be at variance with those of the general culture of which it forms part. It must be said, that members of the metal culture in Lithuania proudly call their community "metal subculture" (*metalistų subkultūra*).

Due to this fact, I think that using term "subculture" is a proper way to call this group. Still, due to a fact that term "subculture" might lead to understanding that it is something below the mainstream or dominant culture, the term "culture" or "alternative youth culture" will be used in this work. While term "subculture" will be used only as emic term.

1.1. Overlooking scientific concepts in "subcultural" research

It is important to look at studies about subcultures done by scholars throughout the world. Core concepts and approaches to the studies of subcultures were widely described by Patrick J. Williams in his article *"Youth-Subcultural Studies: Sociological Traditions and Core Concepts"* in 2007, so in this chapter I am going to use this article to show main concepts and approaches to Western studies in the field of subcultural studies.

"Subcultural studies emerged out of two distinct sociological traditions yet have been affected by and affect many other scholarly fields. The earliest coherent set of subcultural studies was carried out at the University of Chicago from 1920's to 1940's, although these sociologists did not identify themselves explicitly as subcultural scholars. In Britain, an explicitly subcultural approach to the study of working-class youths was developed at the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in the late 1960's and 1970's" (Williams, 2007: 572 - 573).

"American tradition of subcultural studies arouse out of two strands of academic work: the "Chicago school" and functionalist theories of strain" (Williams, 2007: 573). "Chicago school" represented tradition that relied on ecological model of society in equilibrium and on belief that subcultures in the US arouse in part as a result of urbanization. In US early subcultural researches were concentrated on deviant aspects of youth subcultures. "Subcultures were recognized as "relatively distinct social subsystems within a larger social system and culture" (Fischer 1975: 1323. Cited in Williams, 2007: 574).

Strain theory was developed by A. Cohen in 1955; he described how deviant behaviors continued to occur in the face of psychological strain by claiming that subcultures represented inverter values and norms that participants internalized.

Later the field of subcultural studies in US moved away from sociology to criminology and now practically all subcultural research in US shifted from cultural aspects to interest in links between "subculture" and crime.

In 1960's and 1970's in Britain the interdisciplinary field of cultural studies emerged at the CCCS. Scholars were researching various aspects of punk, skinhead, teddy boys, mod, hippy and rocker "subcultures". These "subcultures" were associated with working-class youth. "Their subcultural theories represented a break with American traditions of structural functionalism and deviance, preferring instead a neo-Marxian approach to class and power. CCCS work explored how subcultures provided symbolic solutions to working-class youth. Subcultural participation was no longer understood as deviant, but as a form of resistance that reflected larger class struggles. […] Subcultures and class were only analytically separable as two sides of the same coin" (Williams, 2007: 575).

In a view of scholars at CCCS "subcultures" represented working-class youths struggles to differentiate themselves both from their working-class culture and from the dominant bourgeoisie culture. Subcultures were framed not in terms of strain, but as sites of resistance to cultural hegemony. Also, it must be said that research of scholars at CCCS emphasized the resistance through style and ritual and tended to ignore what their informants actually said or did.

According to Williams "one significant feature of subcultural studies today is the critical insider perspective that has emerged" (Williams, 2007: 577). Also "subcultural studies collectively seek to emically explore the functional, participatory, and lived aspects of young people's material and non-material cultures" (Williams, 2007: 577).

Core concepts in studying subcultures according to Williams are style, resistance, space and media, societal relation, identity and authenticity.

In Lithuania subcultural studies is not as developed as in Western world. Most of the research is done in Center for Cultural Studies in Vytautas Magnus University. Widest research in subcultural field is a monograph by Egidija Ramanauskaitė called *"Subkultūra: fenomenas ir modernumas"*(2004). Furthermore, a lot of research is done by young scientists like Reda Šatūnienė who is researching punk "subculture" or Tadas Kavolis who is doing research within skinhead "subculture" and others.

1.2. Assumptions about origin of "subcultures"

According to Egidija Ramanauskaitė (2004), nature of "subculture" comes from ideas of resistance, which derive from particular social contexts. For example Theodor Roszak (1969) says that "hippy movement of 60's derived from resistance to technocratic society and positions them as counterculture, also emphasizing their negative attitude towards dominant culture" (Roszak, 1969. Cited in Ramanauskaitė, 2004). Hippies then, as youth alternative cultures now, used to raise spirituality above material well-being and searched for their own cultural way.

Howard S. Becker (1973) notes that "subculture" is formed by interacting of group of people who react towards common problems. He says that people who are involved in original activities have opportunity to interact with one another and that these cultural standards emphasize their difference from other members of society. These differences are obvious in symbolic expressions.

Dick Hebdige in *"Subculture: the meaning of style"* (1979) understand "subculture" as expression of youths need for resist and negate. According to Hebdige "subcultural" style symbolize youth's rebelliousness against society's stereotypes.

As we can see different researches give different reasons of formation of subcultures. They give us a wide range of reasons that allows making connections between literature and contemporary Lithuanian youth cultures. In my opinion, all these reasons are visible in Lithuanian youth alternative cultures.

1.3 Defining identity

Identity, according to R. Brubaker and F. Cooper (2000), "is both a category of practice and a category of analysis. As a category of practice, it is used by people in everyday settings to make sense of themselves, of their activities, similarities and differences from others. It is also used by political entrepreneurs to persuade people to understand themselves, their interests,

and their predicaments in a certain way, to persuade certain people that they are "identical" with one another and at the same time different from others, and to organize and justify collective action along certain lines. In these ways the term identity is used both in everyday life and in "identity politics"" (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000).

In the same article authors give some definitions of how identity is used as an analytical concept in scientific studies. It is important to note how notion of identity will be used in this work. **Identity** here is used as core aspect of selfhood that can be both collective and individual. Emphasizing the fact that some features of identity is shared between members of "Pagan metal" culture that makes it unified. These unifying factors will be explored to explain phenomenon of "Pagan metal" identity.

1.3.1 Identity and "subcultures"

According to Williams, identity is one of the core concepts in subcultural studies. In recent years many subcultural studies have framed identity in terms of insider/outsider dichotomies or internal hierarchies. "Insider/outsider distinctions have a long history in study of culture. This is partly because of an underdeveloped conceptualization of subcultures as interactionally embedded within larger social and cultural networks. But equally if not more importantly, many subculturalists' objectify insider/outsider distinctions by describing their identities in contrast to the mainstream or dominant culture" (Williams, 2007:585).

According to Williams identity discourse can be divided into two analytically distinct layers: a social identity and a personal identity. "Social identity is that people use to identify themselves as a members of the groups; and personal identity is that people use to identify themselves as unique subculturalists, separate even from fellow participants" (Williams, 2007:586).

1.3.2 Construction of identity: "modern and post-modern subculturalists"

David Muggleton in his book *"Subculture: post-modern meaning of style"* (2000) notes that if we talk about post-modernity we must talk also about "post-subculturalist". He says that ""post-subculturalists" no longer have any sense of subcultural "authenticity" where inception is rooted in particular socio-temporal contexts and tied to underlying structural relations. Muggleton says that "post-subculturalist" experiences all the signs of subculture of their choosing time and time again through media before inscribing these signifiers on their own bodies" (Muggleton,2000:47).

D. Muggleton explains that "modernist theory stressed a series of different subcultural styles unfolding in linear time up until the late 1970's, while the post-modern 1980's and 1990's have been decades of subcultural fragmentation and proliferation, with a various revivals, hybrids and transformations. This allows "pos-subculturalists" to engage in "style surfing", because they don't have to worry about contradictions between their selected subcultural identities, for there are no rules, no authenticity, no ideological commitment, merely a stylistic game" (Muggleton, 2000:47).

I would like to argue, that this theory is correct only in part while speaking about "metalheads". Some members of this culture like to join the stylistic game and change their identities, but bigger part of "metaheads" are extremely loyal to metal culture.

Muggleton also argues that "modern subcultures existed in a state of mutual opposition with members maintaining strong stylistic and ideological boundaries through expressed comparisons with other groups, and then in post-modernity the need for boundary maintenance becomes negligible as the lines of subcultural demarcation dissolve. We can say that post-modern subcultural identities can be understood as multiple and fluid. Constituted through consumption, subcultural style is no longer articulated around modernist structuring relations to class, gender or ethnicity. Instead these modernist looks become recycled as free-floating signifiers, enabling subcultural identity to be constructed through the succession of styles that "Style surfers" try on or cast off. (Muggleton, 2000:47- 48).

Author argues that post-modernity doesn't mean that the very concept of subculture is becoming less applicable. Despite the fragmentation of mass society and disappearance of dominant culture against which a subculture might rebel (since rebelling is one of the features of alternative cultures) they still find some elements of mainstream culture that they can rebel against. Furthermore, post-modern subcultural ideology value individual over collective; elevates difference and heterogeneity over collectivism and conformity.

1.4. "Subcultural capital" concept

Concept of **subcultural capital** was formed by Sarah Thornton in her book *"Club cultures: music, media and subcultural capital"* (1995). Author referred to classical theory of Pierre Bourdieu (1990) which described "cultural capital", who described values of "high culture".

Concept of Bourdieus **"Cultural capital"** can be explained as educational or intellectual social assets which promote social mobility beyond economic means. This concept was first used by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron in the work *"Cultural Reproduction and*

Social Reproduction" (1973). "Cultural capital" according to Bourdieu includes forms of knowledge, skills, education and advantages that a person has, which give him higher status in society. Parents provide their children with cultural capital by transmitting the attitudes and knowledge needed to succeed in the current educational system. (Bourdieu, 1986) According to Bourdieu "cultural capital" has three subtypes: **embodied**, **objectified** and **institutionalized**. (Bourdieu, 1986:47).

Embodied cultural capital consists of both the consciously acquired and the passively "inherited" properties of the individual. Cultural capital is not transferred instantaneously, but it is acquired over the years. That is, when an individual is impressed with him/herself, he becomes more attentive to receive similar influences. In other words, embodied cultural capital is a collection of values, knowledge, behaviors that people consciously or subconsciously use to identify themselves with one or other group.

Second type - objectified cultural capital consists of physical objects that are owned. They can be exchanged both for economical profit as well as for the purpose of conveying the cultural capital to implement the owner's status. Consumption of this type of capital requires prior understanding of the significance of the owned object.

Third type – institutionalized cultural capital consists of recognition of the institution, usually in the form of academic achievements and qualifications. Labor market is especially affected by this type of cultural capital. Due to this type of capital conversion of cultural capital to economical capital becomes easier.

"Subcultural capital is the linchpin of an alternative hierarchy in which the axes of age, gender, sexuality and race are all employed in order to keep the determinations of class, income and occupation at bay. Social logic of subcultural capital reveals itself most clearly by what it dislikes and by what it empathetically isn't"(Thornton, 2005:191).

Most members of alternative youth cultures distinguish themselves against the mainstream. New cultural ideology gives alternative interpretations and values to young people's subordinate status and re-interprets social world.

"These popular distinctions are a means by which young people jockey for social power; they are discriminations by which players are both assigned social statuses and strive for a sense of self-worth. The perspective envisages popular culture as a multi-dimensional social space rather than as flat folk culture or simply the bottom rung on some linear social ladder. Rather than characterizing cultural differences as resistances to hierarchy or to the remote cultural dominations of some cultural competition that goes on between more closely associated social groups"(Thornton,1997:208).

Sarah Thornton argues that "senses of difference/dissidence and discrimination/distinction clarify the politics of the youthful will to classlessness. At one level, youth do aspire to a more egalitarian, democratic world. On the other hand, classlessness is a strategy for transcending being classed. It is a means of obfuscating the dominant structure in order to set up an alternative." (Thornton, 1997:209) Author notes that this is the paradoxical cultural response of youth to the problem of age and the social structure.

According to Sarah Thornton "culture is faddish and fragmented. Even if the music and clothes are globally marketed crowds are local, segregated and subject of distinctions depend on the smallest of cultural minutiae. She says that it is impossible to chart the patterns of national youth club cultures. Nevertheless, they constantly catalogue and classify youth cultures according to taste in music, forms of dance, kinds of ritual and styles of clothing"(Thornton, 1997). Sarah Thornton speaks about club cultures, but I think that the same thing could be said about other youth cultures as well. Author also says that subjects of her research characterize their crowd as mixed and difficult to classify, but they are generally happy to identify a homogeneous crowd to which they don't belong. Just like "clubbers" and "ravers" in Sarah Thornton's book, "metalheads" also define themselves as outside and in opposition to the mainstream. Ideology of alternative culture gives young people alternative values and understanding of society, also it gives an opportunity to comprehend their social status in different way.

In place of the "cultural capital" inherited from their parents, members of "subcultures" create new, alternative capital ("subcultural capital"). That consists from values, worldviews, style, behavior, language, musical expression and is different from that what their families or mainstream culture is trying to imply to them. Through this "capital" new identities are forged and empowered.

As Keith Kahn-Harris notes in his study about extreme metal, "subcultural capital is accrued in extreme metal culture by constructing and performing various forms of discourse and identity. Subcultural capital is both endowed by other scene members in form of prestige and power and claimed by members for themselves as they perform their identities. To possess subcultural capital is to gain self esteem and rewarding experience of the metal culture" (Kahn-Haris, 2007)

II. DEFINING NEO PAGANISM

Neo Paganism or Modern Paganism – is a term used to define the contemporary resurgence in interest of Pagan spirituality. *Neo* is the Greek word for new and thus a Neo Pagan is a new Pagan. Neo Paganism differs from the Paganism practiced in ancient civilizations in that, while it integrates elements of traditional practices and customs and concentrates on animistic and pantheistic philosophies, it is essentially a revived construction based on a variety of cultures.

2.1. Definitions of terms

Before starting to talk about terms, which will be used later in this work it must be noted, that terms used in scientific literature and in everyday life of modern Pagans often differ, so I will try to show both sets of definitions.

Despite the fact, that scientists use term **"Neo Paganism"** to define all religious movements dedicated to reviving the polytheistic, nature worshiping Pagan religions of pre-Christian Europe, but Pagans themselves try to shake off prefix "neo". They call themselves Pagans and ground their religion in cults of ancestors claiming themselves as successors of those old time religions.

The etymology of term **"Pagan"** is quite contradictory. Modern dictionaries define "Pagan" as "pantheist, polytheist, non-Christian, non-Jew, non-Muslim, nonreligious person, nonbeliever, atheist, hedonist and heathen" (Strmiska, 2005). Many of these definitions show Pagan as either lacking or in opposition to religion. Also, most definitions are negative and pejorative. It must be noted that term "Pagan" derives from the Latin term *"Paganus"* meaning "country dweller". And often used term "heathen" is defined from Christian usages of an original Gothic-Germanic term meaning "inhabiting open country, savage". "This exercise in negative classification is rooted in earlier periods of religious wars and persecution in European history, when the difference between officially sanctioned belief and officially condemned heresy could sometimes mean the difference between life and death for persons charged with religious crimes by state-supported religious authorities" (Strmiska. 2005: 7).

Considering all negative meanings term "Pagan" gained through history it is surprising that Pagans now embrace this term and use it proudly. According to Michael F. Strmiska (2005) there are few reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly, "many people join or develop modern Pagan associations out of disappointment with Christianity – a disappointment that leads them to renounce the religion of their childhood and family and seek out an alternative religious community

with a spiritual perspective more in keeping their personal values" (Strmiska, 2005: 7). So in this way, using term "Pagan" to name their new beliefs become a signifier of disappointment in Christianity.

"Second reason for the popularity of the term "Pagan" is the positive image of European Pagan religion and mythology promoted in 19th century Romantic literature and the writings of certain anthropologists, folklorists and historians of the late 19th and early 20th centuries" (Strmiska, 2005: 7).

As said in the beginning term **"Neo Pagan"**, widely used by scholars, is almost always refused by Pagans themselves in order to stress their affinity with Pagans of the past. Also, some Pagans use alternative terms to call themselves like "heathen", "witch", or "traditional", but in those cases beliefs of people is also associated with historical Pagan religions.

In Lithuanian discourse **traditional culture** is understood as part of "politics identity" and is used to construct public opinion to contemporary Lithuanian culture. It is exported during song and dance festivals and education. Traditional culture is understood as a tool to unite nation. But it must be said that popularity of traditional culture is fast fading and most of the society think that it is not useful anymore. Here the difference between mainstream society and Pagans emerge, since to the informants, traditional culture represents ethnic culture of Lithuania. That includes material heritage (clothing, jewelry, crafts, mounds and castles, places of worship), spiritual heritage (rituals, beliefs, customs, and superstitions) and folklore. According to one of the informants "traditional culture is nation's values, traditions, worldviews and lifestyle that formed through ages"[1]. Also, it is something "that feels as your own, something that continue to fascinate you, something that you want to protect"[2].

2.2 Forms of Paganism in the world

M. Strmiska (2005) excludes two types of neo Paganism: **eclectic Paganism** and **reconstructionist** Paganism.

"**Eclectics** view the European Pagan past as a general source of spiritual inspiration, but they do not undertake to recreate past rituals, beliefs, or other religious traditions with scholarly attention to exact detail. […] Eclectics do not, as general rule, dedicate themselves to an intensive study or reconstruction of the past Pagan religion of a particular region or people. Eclectics are more inclined to freely select religious ideas, practices, and even deities from a wide variety of

[1] From interview, Vaiva. 2010 04 23.
[2] From interview. Eglė. 2010.02.16.

sources, both European and non-European, and to combine them based on what they take to be their similarity or complementarity" (Strmiska, 2005: 20).

While "**reconstructionists** dedicate themselves to a fairly scholarly study of the ancient texts, folklore, archeology, and languages that are believed to contain reliable information about the past religious traditions of the peoples of their particular region of interest. For reconstructionist Pagans, the older the evidence is that gives information about the Pagan religion of the past, the better. By the same token, the more modern Pagan practices and ideas can be brought in line with what is known of the Pagan religion of the past, the better. This is not to say that reconstructionists do not take liberties with ancient traditions and create their own interpretations to suit modern values and lifestyles; rather, they regard older traditions as better established, more authorative, and more authentic than those that are newly created or vaguely imagined. Because of their intense concern with understanding, respecting, and, wherever and whenever possible, imitating and continuing the Pagan traditions of the past, reconstructionists often make considerable effort to follow scholarly debates and research trends in history, archeology, folklore, and other academic fields related to the Pagan traditions they are attempting to resuscitate. Some recontructionist Pagans are themselves scholar, and nearly all maintain some degree of interest in what scholars have to say about the religious traditions they are seeking to preserve, protect and promote" (Strmiska, 2005: 19).

Largest Pagan religious movement in the West is **Wicca** or witchcraft. It is one of the eclectic Pagan movements. Wicca was established in 1950's in United Kingdom by Gerald Gardner. Wicca recognizes divinity of nature. The choice of faith is left to a person; he/she can choose his own god/goddess. Wiccans believe in sanctity of nature as well as in various forms of magic. Their rituals are combined from various religious traditions and are performed to affect the nature during important calendar festivals or for personal gain. Wicca is widely spread in English speaking countries, especially UK and US.

Druidism is one of the oldest efforts to recreate the pre-Christian traditions, and is connected to Celtic religion. The roots of modern Druidism can be traced back to the eighteenth century. The branch of welsh Bardic Druidism is expressively related to Romantic nationalism of the Celtic people. This form of Druidry often concerns itself with revitalizing the national culture (folk music, dance, poetry in Celtic languages). (Simpson, 2000: 35).

Neo shamanism is connected to living religions in America and Siberia that have the institution of shaman. Believes and practices of communicating to the spiritual world, called Shamanism. Neo shamanism is a collection of the many such practices, not a uniform belief system. Moreover some similarities between neo shamans exist. They all are based on existing animalistic

beliefs. Neo shamanism is most popular in the traditional indigenous cultures; however many of them are just cultural approximations.

Germanic/Scandinavian Paganism (also known as "Odinism", "Asatru") is widely spread in Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Canada, Norway and Australia (Strmiska, 2005: 128). It is a modern revival of historical Germanic religion. It is mainly polytheistic religion who teaches the non-separation between material and spiritual worlds and use myth as language of gods (York, 1995: 126). Germanic Pagans recognize divinity of nature, celebrate calendar festivals. Also, it has to mentioned, that this type of Paganism puts greater emphasis on family, nation and race, sometimes even become associated with Nazism.

2.3 Forms of neo Paganism in Lithuania

Baltic Pagans always proudly tell that Grand Duchy of Lithuania was the last Pagan empire of Europe and the vestiges of old Pagan beliefs are deeply rooted in their blood. Old Pagan beliefs blend into "neo Paganism" and this makes Baltic neo Pagans different from neo Pagans in other parts of the world.

I excluded three different forms of Neo Paganism in Lithuanian culture. Firstly it is religious Paganism with strong communities like *"Romuva"* and *"Devyniaragis"* in forefront. These communities are "shelter" for those seeking spiritual connection to ancient gods and ancestors. Religious Pagan communities are dedicated of preserving and reproducing "Pagan" religion, through rituals, folklore and education.

Second form of Paganism is warrior clubs. *"Vilkatlakai", "Karionys", "Kovarnis"* and others combine ancient Pagan beliefs with crafts and warfare. Members of these clubs (who are 99% male) explore material heritage of Baltic culture while combining it with nature worshiping and harmony.

Third form of Paganism is "Pagan metal" culture. This form is a combination of religious Paganism and warrior clubs, but also it has a distinct way of expression. While warrior clubs and religious Pagan communities use folk music to express their beliefs, Pagan metal (obviously) uses metal music.

These forms differ in their life-styles, values, forms of expression, but are united under "Pagan" banner. It must be said that many Pagans I spoke with started as a members of metal culture and through that joined either religious community or warrior club. Preferences for choosing religious Paganism or warrior club have a lot to do with gender. Since religious Pagan communities

tend to be more spiritual and feminine and warrior clubs employ masculinistic values of ancient warfare.

All forms of Paganism should be looked at like a complex of Pagan beliefs. Despite the emphasis on one or the other aspect of historical past they all tend to represent ancient Pagan religion and culture.

In this work I am going to explore Pagan metal form of Paganism, but also, I will look at religious Pagan community and try to find out how those forms fit together to form a full specter of Pagan identities.

III. ENTERING METAL CULTURE

Metal culture, could be defined as one of alternative musical youth cultures. Members stand out by different taste in music, appearance and world-views. Members of metal culture call themselves "metalists" (*"metalistais"*) or "metalheads", terms that basically ties them to metal music, also they call themselves a "subculture", because the main point in their world-view is rebelling against mainstream culture and its norms. So I prefer to use the terms they call themselves.

Furthermore in this chapter I am going to talk about history of metal subculture and its main features which include metal music, style and world-views. Also I will talk about relations to mainstream society and stereotyping of "metalheads".

While studying "heavy metal" subculture, Deena Weinstein (Weinstein, 2000) excluded three dimensions of expression: sonic (music), visual (image and symbols) and verbal (lyrical content, band titles). In this work all these dimensions will be discussed.

3.1. "Rise of metal: history of subculture." History of metal subculture in western world and in Lithuania.

History of metal music is a wide field, thus it would be hard to describe it in detail, and therefore I am going to give a short version of history of metal. This part is a conclusion of field notes and interviews given by informants during fieldwork and data taken from internet portals of Lithuanian metal fans. I think, since the music is the most important feature of this culture, it could be trusted.

The history of metal music and culture begins in 1970's. Metal music emerged as "harder" branch of "hard rock" music. Culture formed in 1980's. 1990's was the decade of prosperity for metal ("heavy metal"), during that time it became the most popular genre of music, different branches were born and gained some commercial success.

According to Robert Walser "if metal could be said to have gotten start in any single place, it would be Birmingham, England, the industrial city whose working class spawned Ozzy Osbourne, Black Sabbath and Judas Priest."(Walser, 1993: 10). They managed to combine progressive rock and blues styles while distorting and overdriving the sound. Music was full of power chords and lower tuned sound; the lyrics were full of dark occult and horror themes. *„Deep Purple"* and *„Led Zeppelin "*were other bands which had significant influence on the style of "heavy metal".

"Heavy metal" was only the first step in the evolution of metal music. In the years when "heavy metal" was popular in the more mainstream culture a number of different metal styles emerged. Those styles combined and influence each other and they still are creating different styles of metal music. Bands like *„Black Sabbath"*, *„Judas Priest"*, *„Iron Maiden"* and *„Metallica"* are commonly the first steps in a young "metalheads" life toward the metal music.

First "heavy metal" bands tried to discover reality by firstly discovering the inexistence. This kind of world view evolved the themes of metal music over the forty years until it reached total nihilism. Thus there was no good or evil in the lyrics.

Style of a current "meathead" was created by British band *Judas Priest".* They were the first to use black leather clothes, spiked bracelets and chains. A little known fact is that the lead singer Rob Halford borrowed the style from gay bars of the time. "Heavy metal" was the origin of a number of styles such as "glam metal", which extremely expressive appearance. Musicians tried to shock the audience by using lots of makeup and female clothes. Quite frequent "glamers" looked like women.

Opposition to the popular at the time "glam metal" an alternative metal style called "thrash metal" emerged. Bands representing this style openly condemned the popular metal styles. Their music was more harsh, rapid and heavy. Song lyrics were based on social injustices and inequalities. A successor to that style was "death metal". The style was named by the group *"Death"* which started playing that type of music. Themes of the lyrics were based on death, gore and alternative reality. It usually talked about the content which is taboo in modern society: scenes of death, daemons, massacre, raping and torturing. In later years death metal concentrated on the injustice of modern society.

One of the newest of the core styles is "black metal". The sound of the music changed to include not only the drums, electric and bass guitars, but keyboard instruments. Name of the style come from British band *"Venom"* which in 1982 rereleased a record called *"Black metal".* While the style originated in Britain the majority of bands playing the style come from Scandinavia, especially Norway. Lyrics of the genre are dominated by sorcery, magic, anti-religion and satanic motives. Evil is the "trademark" of "black metal". Furthermore the values of modern society like money and submission are considered less important than the real world. The meaning is only found when a person accepts death and is ready to see what is "beyond". Other direction in "black metal" music is to look back at the Pagan roots. Pagans rally to fight against the alien religion which was brought by fire and sword.

History of metal music is vast, thus to overview it completely would be quite hard. The sources of this review are the metal fans portals in Lithuania and abroad. In my opinion they can be trusted, because of the fact that music is a key factor unifying the metal culture.

I will base my metal history in Lithuania on E.Ramanauskaitė book *„Subkultūra: fenomenas ir modernumas“* (2004).

In the days after the Second World War the modernization periods in the sphere of "subculture" need to be related to the beginning of postmodernism in the west. It is linked to the youth social and cultural movements against the politics and lack of freedoms of the time. Year 1968 can be called Cultural Revolution in the West. Rebellion was against the inequity of the classes, monopolization of cultural taste. "Subculture" assumptions were created at that time. These processes had significant influence in Lithuania. It was due to inner political conditions like the expression of individualism and society.

E. Ramanauskaitė sees two opposite cultural self-consciousnesses symbols of the time. "1) Ethno-cultural movement, expressed by the work of cultural communities (hikers, *"Romuva"*); 2) Western subcultural forms, first of all "big-beat" culture and "the hippies". (Ramanauskaitė, 2004: 46). This group includes all youth "subcultures", including "metalheads".

According to the author year 1987 is the second stage of individuality, which is related toward alternative cultural movements and emergence into the public. More vivid self expression arose in the 1987-1990. Lithuanian cultural groups spoke out for the independence of the Republic of Lithuania though socially positive actions and original symbolic theatrical protests that replaced the demonstrations of the soviet times.

Another underlined period according to the author is after the reestablishment of independence of the republic of Lithuania. When culture refuses the previous ideologies the possibility for various cultural initiatives emerges. Youth protested against any cultural systemization and the restriction of personal freedoms.

Current "subcultural" status in Lithuania can be called "the next stage". Nowadays, the incensement of opposition towards the popular culture and also growth of alternative youth subcultures can be noticed.

3.2 "Rocking the world": Metal music

Music is the main characteristic of metal culture, it was most frequently named feature of this culture. I think that for this reason music can't be ignored when talking about metal culture. Despite the fact that most of the people would accuse metal music for being unattractive, provoking aggression, being spiritless or just call it simple noise, members of metal culture have different

opinions. They say that this kind of music is very complicated; demands skills and professionalism from musicians and also is played solely live, without using phonograms or computers. Furthermore it is noted that metal music can't be described in words, you have to listen to it, to experience it, to feel its energy and power. Members of metal culture say that if you once liked it, this music is here to stay for the rest of your life.

If we search for the roots of metal music we must look to "classical rock", blues and sometimes even classical music.

As Deena Weinstein notes in her book *"Heavy metal: music and its culture"* (2000) "the essential sonic element in "heavy metal" is power expressed as sheer volume. Loudness is meant to overwhelm, to sweep the listener into the sound, and then to lend the listener the sense of power that the sound provides". (Weinstein, 2000: 23). According to the author, metals loudness, to its fan is not deafening, irritating or painful, but empowering.

Main instruments of metal music are guitars, bases and drums. In some genres musicians use keyboards or even classical instruments. Sometimes bands even make projects with symphonic orchestras. Moreover metal music has distinctive vocal techniques: they range from clean "heavy metal" vocals, to growling vocals of "death metal" musicians, to screaming vocals of "black metal" bands. Furthermore, some bands use even opera style vocals.

Metal music is very diverse. This can be explained through many genres in metal music that will be described in the following section. Lyrics of metal music are very important, because they depict worldviews of musicians and fans. Thus lyrics themes also will be covered in following sections.

3.2.1. Music Genres

"Popular music genre goes through the phases of formation, crystallization and exhaustion. In the last phase artists repeat the success formulas of the glory days in a mechanical fashion, boring the audiences and critics, and inspiring a new generation of creators to break new musical ground. The established genre then becomes a predecessor of a new one, just as it had drawn from predecessors in its own formative stage. "Heavy metal" has not followed this trajectory. After going through phases of formation and crystallization, it did not become mannered. But neither did it simply perpetuate its golden age. Instead, after a spurt of growth, it began to fragment" (Weinstein, 2000: 44). This means that "heavy metal" spawned the number of new subgenres and was transformed in many ways.

In this section, genres of metal music will be described. It would be hard to describe all genres of metal, because musicians are always searching for something new and new genres are

born this way. I am going to describe just the main genres in this section. The main source for it is interview material and also data form one internet portal[3]. It is important to note that most of metal genres were born in Europe just as metal itself.

"Heavy metal." Earlier "heavy metal" was the term used to describe all metal music, but now it is used more to describe just one of the genres. "Heavy metal" was the first genre. Band called *"Black Sabbath"(*UK) could be called ideologists of "heavy metal". Despite the fact that "Heavy's" days of glory are in the past, most of members of metal culture still listen to it with nostalgia. "Heavy metal" is mostly popular in England, Germany and USA (mostly because of bikers as auditory). Best known bands are *"Iron Maiden"(*UK), *"Judas Priest"(*UK), *"Black Sabbath", "Accept"*(Germany) etc. Themes of the songs are darker than in rock music. Themes of war are widely exploited; furthermore there are songs that are created according to myths, legends, and fantasy novels. The main idea of "heavy metal" is unity; its goal was to round up metal fans and create new movement. Those first bands succeeded: the metal culture came to be thanks to their music. In Lithuania "heavy metal" is still quite popular; there are many bands that play it. For example *"Katedra"* probably the oldest still performing band in Lithuania. Other bands that "carry the flag of "heavy metal"" are *"Thundertale", "SBS", "Piligrimas"* and others.

"Power metal" The roots of this style can be found in creations of pioneers of metal *"Black Sabbath"* and *"Accept",* but real progenitors of "power metal" is a band form USA called *"Metalchurch".* In comparison to "heavy", "power metal" is more serious, deeper, darker, and more aggressive. "The title of this genre derives from the feeling of power and energy while listening to this music"[4] Songs of "power metal" features slow aggression, which gives its energy to the listener. Lyrics include fantasy themes, tales, and legendary battles. Lyrics tell stories of dragons, legendary heroes, fighting to the death etc. Fantasy is used in almost all genres of metal, but in "power metal" it has the biggest role. In global scene there are lots of "power metal" bands such as *"Manowar"(*USA), *"Hammerfall"(*Sweden), *"Blind guardian"(*Germany), *"Iced Earth"(*USA), *"Nightwhish"* (Finland) etc. In Lithuania "power metal" has been played by *"Soul Stealer".*

"Thrash metal" This genre began in 1983 in USA and made huge impact on the movement of metal. First band which reached hardness, aggression and chaos not seen before was *"Metallica"* (USA). Cradle of "thrash" music was Bay area in California or to say more exact city of San Francisco. Best years of this genre were 1986 – 1990. Later, thrash was pushed aside by "death metal". Ideology of "thrash" is aggression, destruction, protest against everything what's possible and not possible and loud scream about things that are kept unsaid, are considered indecent

[3] http://www.tdd.lt/~kingdom/My_Kingdom/library/Shelf_of_Theories__General/Teorijo_lentyna/Metalo_teorija/metalo_teorija.html

[4] From interview with power metal musician conducted by author in June 2009.

to speak about or even think about. Main features of "thrash metal" are speed, harsh vocals and aggressive lyrics. Music completely corresponds to title of this style. There aren't many bands that still play "thrash metal", but bands like *"Metallica"(*USA), *"Kreator"* (Germany), *"Sepultura"* (Brazil) still make impact on metal culture. Speaking of Lithuanian scene there are just a few "thrash metal" bands like: "*Dissimulation", "Eliminator" and "Luctus"*.

"Death metal" Title "death metal" belongs to the band named *"Death"(*USA) which in 1986 began playing this kind of music. "Death metal" is one of darkest, heaviest and most extreme between metal genres. "Death metal" lyrics are shocking, it is taboos of society: it's necrophilia and necromancy, Satanism and despising of Christian god, sadism and massacres, cannibalism and torture, debaucheries, insanity, trips to human beings darkest sides. Those things weren't despised or criticized, they were worshiped, and songs were written about them. "Death metal" music is created using incredible speed, growling vocals and complicated guitar solos. Main ideas of "death metal" are "anti beauty" and disharmony. "Death metal" shows human values from different point, there is nothing that's saint to it. The peak of popularity of this style was in 1990 – 1992, there are still many bands that play "death metal", but also it was transformed to other forms of metal: "technical death", "death/doom", "atmospheric death"," death/black" and others. Main areas of "death metal" are USA, Sweden, England, Germany and Netherlands. In time "death metal" expanded and sometimes extremely brutal "death metal" is called "brutal death metal" or "gore metal", these styles distinguishes in even more aggression and hardness. Global scene of "death metal" is huge; bands worth mentioning are *"Arch Enemy"* (Sweden), *"Insomnium"* (Finland), *"Cannibal Corpse"* (USA), *"Behemoth"* (Poland) and many others. Lithuania also has big "death metal" scene, the prime bands are *"Ossastorium", "Mandragora", "Saples"* and many others.

"Black metal" This genre emerged when band *"Venom"* (UK) released their first album titled *"Black metal"* in 1983. This title became the title of new genre. Together with *"Venom"* history of "black metal" was created by *"Celtic Frost"* (Switzerland) and *"Bathory"* (Sweden). "Black metal" those bands played, now is called "old-school" or "classical black metal". In that time ideology and principles of "black metal" was formed. The renaissance of "black metal" started in 1990's in Norway and is still continuing growing only stronger. Bands like *"Burzum", "Mayhem", "Immortal", "Satyricon", Emperor", "Dimmu Borgir", "Dark Funeral"* are only small part of "black metal" scene and all of them originate from Norway. Other area of "black metal" is Greece and metal scene there are led by *"Rotting Christ"* and *"Astarte"*. From here "black metal" is spread throughout the world and every country has their own distinctive "black metal": *"Samael"* (Switzerland), *"Cradle of Filth"* (England), *"Opera IX"* (Italy), *"Impaled Nazarene", "Thy Serpent"* (Finland) and so on. This new wave of "black metal" is called "modern

black". The core of "black metal" is protest against religion, worship of antichrist and remembrance Pagan gods. Music may not have complicated melody, beautiful guitar solos, but the mood is always there, dark atmosphere, that cannot be heard, but must be felt. "Black metal" features fast and even rhythm of drums, screaming vocal, dark guitar noise. But mood is the most important thing. "Black metal" grew so huge, that now it is separated into subgenres: "battle metal", "Pagan metal", "north metal", "dark metal" and etc. A main difference between "classical black" and its subgenres is in their lyrics: while "classical black metal" speak of Satanism and antichrist, "Pagan metal" for example speaks of Pagan gods, old times and war against enslavers Christians. In Lithuania classical "black metal" is played by *"Nahash"* and *"Inquisitor"*. But more popular between metal fans are "Pagan metal" played by bands like *"Obtest", "Andaja", "Angis"* and others.

"White metal". This genre was born in resistance to "black metal". It is also called "Christian power metal". Lyrics themes include Christianity, love of god and so on. This genre use high vocals. Mainly this style is played alternative by youth of Christian churches. But I must note here, that songs of "white metal" are as cruel as in "black metal", only mythology is different.

"Folk metal". Term "folk metal" originated from band *"Skyclad"* (UK) in the beginning of 1990's. They were the first to use English folk melodies in their music. Basically "folk metal" is combination between folk music and metal. Some bands use folk songs and give them new sound with metal instruments; others use folk instruments or themes. This gives metal interesting flavor. Furthermore, folk music is used in different genres of metal. Lithuanian bands also like to use folk elements in their work. Mostly this genre is used by band *„Žalvarinis".* Speaking of "folk metal", it is important to say that this genre is very varied, because of variations of folk music in different cultures.

3.2.2 "Words are power": Song lyrics

Lyrics represent worldviews of members of metal culture, defines their attitudes toward events and phenomenon's of society. Therefore, while speaking of metal culture song lyrics should be taken into consideration.

"The lyrics of any song are meant to be heard rather that read, and this judgment holds especially true for metal. Important words or phrases are more clearly articulated by the singer than the rest of the lyrics. They are embedded in the section called the chorus, which is repeated several times during the song, and are easily associated with sensibility created by the band's name" (Weinstein, 2000: 34).

Voice in metal music is treated as musical instrument. The singer attempts to project an emotion that is appropriate to the lyrics, avoiding the ironical relation to them. There are few techniques of singing in metal music: clean vocals, “growling” and “screaming”. Clean vocals are usually used in “heavy metal” genre and are easy to understand. “Growling” technique is widely used by “death metal” musicians. Natalie Purcell notes, "Although the vast majority of “death metal” bands use very low, beast-like, almost indiscernible growls as vocals, many also have high and screechy or operatic vocals, or simply deep and forcefully sung vocals" (Purcell, 2003: 11). So “growl” vocals are quite hard to understand for “untrained ear”, but in time fans learn to decipher them. “Screaming” is a technique mostly used by “black metal” and “Pagan metal” musicians. “Scream” is a loud vocalization in which air is passed through the vocal cords with greater force than is used in regular or close-distance vocalization. “Screaming” is even harder to understand than “growling”, but “black metal” fans usually understand lyrics or, if not - lyrics are often included into CD covers or are easily accessed through internet.

Natalie J. Purcell, who explored “death metal” fans and musicians, in her book *“Death metal music – passion and politics of the subculture”* (2003), distinguishes such groups of lyrics:

“1. Gore/horror/porn;

2. Satanism/occultism/anti-Christianity;

3. Sociopolitical commentary;

4. Independence themes;

5. War/apocalypse themes.”(Purcell, 2003: 40).

I think that these themes together with unity ideas, Pagan roots and gods and fantasy themes show practically full picture of metal lyrics. In this chapter main themes will be explored, excluding Pagan themes, because they will be discussed later in this work.

Natalie J. Purcell also notes that within each category it is important to distinguish pictures of fantasy from reality. In general, we can conclude that the lyrics depicting gore and psychological horror do not represent reality and according to informants are never taken seriously. They are more an expression of rebellious spirit and brutality of music in itself. There is another story behind anti-Christian and anti-political lyrics; they have some elements of realty in them. Mostly they show attitudes of “metalheads” to mainstream society, religion, government and most of the time they are negative.

“Chaos in metal music’s lyrics is used to refer to absence or destruction of relationships, which can run from confusion, through various forms of anomaly, conflict and violence, to death. Respectable society tries to repress chaos. Metal brings its images to forefront,

empowering them with its vitalizing sound. It stands against the pleasing illusions of normality, conjuring with powers of the underworld and making them submit to the order of music and nothing else" (Weinstein, 2000: 38).

Elements of horror were first used by "*Black Sabbath"* in the beginning of metal music, but in comparison to the lyrics now, they seem quite innocent. Now most brutal and horrible lyrics are used in "death metal" genre. Scenes of apocalypse, massacres, raping, blood, gore are a norm to "death metal" musicians. Therefore, they are not said to be good or bad, according to them they just are and people should always have a right to choose what they want.

Major source for imaginary and rhetoric chaos is religion, particularly Christianity. Christian mythology is widely used to show opposition of good and evil, but most of the time the traditional values are inverted. Other source for inspiration is secular entertainment. "Literature, especially gothic horror stories of Edgar Alan Poe and the fantasy of H.P. Lovercraft and J.R.R. Tolkien, has inspired many songs" (Weinstein, 2000: 40). Fantasy and horror movies also might be called inspirational to writers of metal lyrics.

There are many texts about Satanism. Satan is worshiped by lyrics of most "black metal" bands. Satanism is shown as the only true religion and Satan like a savior. *"Venom"* was the first to use satanic symbolism in their music. Their lyrics are filled with sights of hell:

"I have been to Hell and back - kissed satanic Queen
Traveling at the speed of light - saw thing never seen
Arm in arm with Lucifer - Belial on my back
I have swam the lake of flames - walked forbidden tracks
[...]
I've made love to Lilith fair - danced the zombies dance
I have shook the reapers hand - broke his deathly trance
Present at ungodly births - mutants writhe in pain
I'm possessed by Hell itself - I'm the man insane [...]
You can take a trip with me - Hell's my final home
If you wish to live at night - watch the demons roam
Holding high the Southern Cross - watch the mortals bleed
Drink the blood and feel my wrath - watch the mutants breed"
(Venom „To hell and back"1982)

Satan is called to be savior or even master: "Satan My Master/Remember me when judgment day is near/Satan My Master/Take my hand when Armageddon is here" *("Bathory" "Satan my master"* 1998).

"The devil is frequently mentioned in "heavy metal" lyrics because he serves as shorthand for the forces of disorder. Hell, as both the home of the devil and the place of punishment for those who transgress, is used in "heavy metal" lyrics as a synonym for chaos itself. (Weinstein, 2000: 41).

Satanic texts are very popular among Norwegian "black metal" bands. Musicians sing not only about Satan himself, but also about rituals dedicated to him. Some of the songs sound like

prayers to Satan. Some texts are dedicated to occultism and black magic. There also good/bad moral values of society are twisted around and witches, wizards and sorcery aren't considered bad, but opposite. Also it indicates that people practicing "the craft" shouldn't be persecuted for their beliefs. Witches for example are victims of Christian church in the eyes of metal musicians. This indicates the rebelliousness of metal culture especially against mainstream society.

There are few historical personalities frequently mentioned in "black metal" lyrics. One of them is Hungarian countess Elizabeth Bathory, who was executed for extremely cruel behavior to her servants and bathing in their blood in order to keep her youth and beauty. Her portrait is romanticized and she is like a heroine in metal culture who was misjudged and misunderstood. Other personality recently adopted by metal musicians is Gilles de Rais, the general in Jean of Arc's army who is one of well known serial killers in the world. Here we can also see that metal musicians like to use personalities who were extremely cruel and show it as heroes. In my opinion it also is connected to rebellious part of metal cultures identity and twisted moral values.

Not all bands declare satanic worldview, but religion is often the target. Critics of Christianity are big part of metal music texts and also of their worldview. According to members of metal culture, Christianity encourages humility, conciliation to evil; it tries to restrict even personal life of human beings. Christian dogmas are on constant attack in metal music lyrics:

"[…]
The Christians, today they still cry
But the bastards adore images
Remembrances from the past, from the crucifixion
Rotting Christ, nailed to cross
[…]"
("Sepultura" "Morbid visions" 1986)

Christian god is shown like evil deity not capable of doing anything; Christian religion is blamed for all suffering of people:

„God is the reason we live in dismay
It is his will that this world's suffering
If we do not believe what you foretell
We can expect afterlife will be hell

You are the one who killed his own son
We are the ones you're blaming it on
[…]
Lord of salvation keep looking away
It is your will that this world goes astray
Take us each day from this place you unworthy
Unfulfilled promise of heaven on earth
[…]
God is the reason that Satan lives on"
(Deicide "Blame it on God" 1997)

Texts like this one are used frequently. Furthermore there are texts that are more radical and speak about killing Christians. These statements shouldn't be understood in directly, but

they are more of symbols of negative opinion to Christianity, which is sapping, putting into some sort of frames, making people acquiescent, obedient. This in general contradicts with rebellious spirit of metal culture.

On the other hand, rebel, from the position of those who he is rebelling against, is sinister. For this reason he has no place in paradise of Christians, "normal people". In their eyes rebel belongs in hell. In metal lyrics visions of hell are widely exploited. Hell is considered to be a haven of "wicked" and outcasts of society:

„[...] The Gates of Hell lie waiting as you see
There's no price to pay just follow me
I can take your lost soul from the grave
Jesus knows your soul can not be save [...]
Now I have you deep inside my everlasting grasp
The seven bloody Gates of Hell
Is where you'll live your last [...]"
(Slayer, „Hell awaits"1985)

Still, solid opinion about hell does not exist. Some bands use the image of hell Christianity has:

[...] Blood turning black, the change has begun
Feeling the hatred of all damned in Hell
Flesh starts to burn, twist and deform
Eyes dripping blood realization of death
Transforming of five toes to two
Learn the sacred words of praise, hail Satan [...]"
(Slayer, "Altar of Sacrifice" 1986)

In this case, "metalhead" is in some way punished for a life of despising Christian god. But what we see here is in some way celebration of free life, because even if this hell is true, "it is worth to live in now and have as much fun as possible"[5].

Others simply turn around traditional hierarchy and describe hell as Christians describe paradise:

„[...] Take my hand, I show you what pleasure is!
Come with me to Satan's dreamland.
Welcome to my Reich, where nothing's holy ground.
I scheme your soul.[...]"
(Hypocrisy, "To escape is to die" 1992)

Despite the view of hell, rebel is keeping his negativity until the end: he has no claims to paradise which is designed for defective members of defective society. He either abides that infidel and sinner has no place in paradise or he creates an alternative for himself and showing its advantages against traditional paradise.

[5] From interview, April 2009.

Third portion of texts are most realistic, because of attention to problems of society. Sometimes musicians point out power structures who try to dominate, control and keep individuals from thinking on their own, imposing their opinions:

"Life is a twisted maze of obstacles
Presented by people with a secret face"
(Death, "Secret Face", 1991)

There is compassion for those who are being fooled, manipulated and those who can't think for themselves. This is widely exploited in texts about war and killing:

„[…]Soldiers going nowhere
Believers kneeling over their sins
Inhuman instinct of cowardly leaders
Make the world go their own way
Tens of thousands hypnotized
Trying to find a reason why
Look inside your empty eyes
Obey 'till the end […]"
(Sepultura, "Mass Hypnosis" 1989)

Control of mind and life, according to musicians, is prosecuted through mass media and education. There is a lot of space dedicated to motivate critical view towards information:

„From our lives' beginning on
We are pushed in little forms
No one asks us how we like to be
In school they teach you what to think
But everyone says different things
But they're all convinced that
They're the ones to see [...]
People tell me A and B
They tell me how I have to see
Things that I have seen already clear
So they push me then from side to side
They're pushing me from black to white
They're pushing 'til there's nothing more to hear [...]"
(Halloween „I want out" 1988)

Letting someone to take control of your life and formation of your worldviews is considered to be devastating. Metal musicians, like in every theme, declare freedom and individuality to all:

"You see life through distorted eyes
You know you have to learn
The execution of your mind
You really had to turn
The race is run the book is read
The end begins to show
The truth is out, the lies are old
But you don't want to know
Nobody will ever let you know
When you ask the reason why
They just tell you that you're on your own
Fill your head all full of lies.
[…]
Where can you run to? What more can you do?
No more tomorrow life is killing you
Dreams turn to nightmares heaven turns to hell

Burned out confusion nothing more to tell"
(Black Sabbath "Sabbath Bloody Sabbath" 1973)

Worst expression of rotten society and unmeasured ambitions of political leaders, according to musicians is war, especially nuclear war which leads not only to individual suffering, but also to self-destruction of humanity:

"Nuclear warheads fly out for destruction
Insanity and corruption of the Universe
Concentration camps are back again
Third Reich is here between us

Total slaughter is only rule
Kill to live, live to kill
Mass extermination, black death
The corrosion of the world is done"
(Sepultura "War" 1986)

On the other hand, ordinary soldier and fallen heroes are being compassionated. Mostly, ordinary soldiers are viewed as puppets in the hands of leaders; they are just victims of cruel regimes and circumstances:

"Honor the fallen heroes
See their last resting place
Perished in the battle of nations
Where they found eternal peace
Do you know the use of their decorations?
Awarded for patriotism
They left their life in fire
But don't know even why
[…]
To the command of despotic dictators
They marched to fight in a senseless war
Most of them were just puppets and children
The battle was lost before it began
[…]
Their duty only as cannon fodder
Kamikaze as living bombs
Driven into the open knife
Deceitful and malicious"
(Sodom "Remember the fallen" 1989)

Hate, terrorism, various crimes are the basis of our society which makes people live in constant fear. Human rights according to metal musicians are only meaningless words. Furthermore, people addiction to money and their prominence in society are shown as defect. Most of the time rich people are viewed with irony. This shows that metal musicians try to keep their music as not commercial as possible; most of them play music for fun and has other jobs to provide them with everyday needs.

On the other hand, buying and selling of love, health, suffering of others are seriously detested in metal texts. This business open the way for prostitution, trading of organs or animal fighting and metal musicians are strongly against those things. Obsession for money is also the

reason for exploitation, social inequality, crimes and war. There is some room for ecological themes. Ecological catastrophes are pictured as apocalyptic visions of Earths future. Some "death metal" bands gives detail descriptions of concerning factors like pollution of air and water, squander of natural resources, diseases and deformities. Those texts are most possibly inspired by hippy and punk movements, since metal culture is in close connection to other youth alternative cultures.

Metal music is seen like a value like a foundation of worldview. Music is empowered with social meaning – it is life style and a way to rebel. Sometimes music is viewed as law which gives freedom to members of metal culture. It is associated with braking free from the control of society. Music becomes like a flag which unites all like-minded who understand corruption and rottenness of the world and want to change something in their own life or in public. Fans become power and musician – instigator of the riot. The main thing in this is that everyone should participate in this culture by their own free will and sincerely.

3.3 Looking like "metalhead": Metal image

Musical power of metal is supported and enhanced by a wide range of visual elements and effects that display its inherent meaning. "Visual aspect of metal comprises a wide range of items including band logos, album covers, photographs, patches and t-shirts; live performance visual elements such as concert costumes, lightning effects, stage sets and choreography; and magazine artwork and music videos" (Weinstein, 2000: 27). Also, it must be said, that everyday street image is also important part of visualization of metal identity.

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, members of metal culture distinguish from main society not only by music, but also by the way they look. Clothing and hairstyles are part of alternative youth cultures since the beginning and every culture have their own style. Metal culture is no exception. There are some parts of costume which are common between youth alternative cultures and some distinctively belong to metal culture.

So in this part I am going to talk about main aspects of "metalhead" image and their symbolic values to metal culture.

3.3.1 Black uniform: Clothing, footwear and jewelry

Black color dominates in clothing of metal culture, one of the informants said that black reflects the mood of this culture. Sometimes black color is combined with red details, as noticed during fieldwork. From the traditional point of view black is considered as the color of evil: black is the tar in mythical hell, black are devils, and black is goat that symbolize Satan, and black is the cat that brings misfortune and so on. Also in most of the cultures black color is associated with death, grief and sadness. But on the other hand black color is also associated with freedom, individuality, and spirituality. As for the red, it mostly symbolizes blood and destructive flames, but also it can be associated with love and passion. Passion is one of key elements of metal music.

D. Weinstein excluded three types of dressing within "heavy metal" culture. These types can be used when talking about any genre of metal since it all evolved from it. She notes that "early performers adopted the "authentic" look of their time, wearing the "street clothes" – jeans and t-shirts – and long hair that served as everyday uniform of the male members of the youth counterculture in the West" (Weinstein, 2000: 29). This fashion of jeans and t-shirt (preferably with favorite bands logo on it) is still used among metal fans and musicians today. "A second option was the biker look. Introduced into "heavy metal" by band *"Judas Priest"* in the mid 70's, the metal-studded leather fashion was reminiscent of an early British youth culture, the rockers. Leather jacket became a symbol of masculinity and rebellion." (Weinstein, 2000: 30). This look is also largely used now. Leather fashion is widely used by "black" and "Pagan metal" bands and fans and also it was elevated to a higher level and now, combined with "corpse paint" helps to created evil image of "black metal". "The third option for costuming was introduced around 1980, is spandex. Pants made of this material allow greater movement on stage and better display the athletic bodies of the performers, thereby promoting an image of vital power" (Weinstein, 2000: 30). It must be said, that spandex style was never adopted by fans, while other styles became some sort of metal uniform. Furthermore, now spandex is long forgotten by both, fans and musicians.

Now I am going to examine items of "metal uniform"[6] in greater detail. Main accent of "metal costume" is footwear. Every informant mentioned that "metalheads" wear combat boots or *"kerzus"*. They mostly are long, laced and made from thick leather, color can vary, but dominating is black. Some "metalheads", especially girls, like to wear other type of boots, called "new rocks", which are associated with goth culture. They are heavy decorated with spikes and buckles and often have high platforms.

Girls that wear military boots are often viewed as homosexuals in mainstream society. Most of the people think that military boots do not correspond to soft feminine nature of women.

[6] See apendix No. 1.

The girls in metal culture have different view of this topic. Firstly they say that they wear military boots because they are extremely comfortable, look good and also help them show the belonging to metal culture.

Inseparable part of "metal costume" is leather jacket *("koža"*), which is made from thick leather with lots of decorative buckles, spikes, laces and zippers. Leather jacket, most likely, shows close connection between metal and biker cultures.

Members of metal culture choose to wear camouflage pants, jeans or leather pants. The interesting part of this is that pants are often chosen by preferred genre of metal music: "death metal" fan would choose camouflage pants; "black metal" or "Pagan metal" fan – leather and "heavy or power metal" fan most likely will wear jeans. Furthermore, t-shirts with bands logos are worn frequently. T-shirts also show preferences of genre and bands. I have to mention that t-shirts are more often worn by guys, while girls choose more feminine clothing. Also, girls often wear skirts, mostly long. They also wear leather jackets and sometimes long leather coats.

While outfits of male members of culture are similar to skinhead and biker culture clothing, girls look similar to goths. Nowadays distinctive styles of different cultures are mixing together and every person chooses for himself what he likes. Boundaries that separated different youth cultures are vanishing and therefore it is hard to distinguish pure styles.

Members of metal culture like to wear piercings in ears, eyebrows, tongues and lips. Most of them have more than one earring in different parts of their bodies. Often ears are pierced with so called "tunnels" – that is larger than normal hole for earring. In all outfit metal details are visible: that is various rivets on jackets; massive belt buckles with pentagrams, skulls, inverted crosses, lightning bolts and so on.

Jewelry[7] includes massive chains pegged to pants, leather chokers with spikes around the neck, bracelets with sharp spikes, which sometimes covers all forearm and also various pendants with satanic or Pagan symbols for example amber, Thor's hammer, inverted or simple pentagram, inverted cross. Sometimes members of metal culture like to wear massive rings that cover all finger and ends with sharp nail. Distinctive feature of Lithuanian metal culture is wide usage of brass jewelry with Pagan symbols like spirals and grass-snakes.

The most glaring feature of "metalheads" is long hair of male. For most of the society long hair is associated with tramps or homosexuals. Often men who have long hair are confused for girls. Hair is often the reason for abuse from mainstream society and negative view towards metal culture.

[7] See appendix No. 2

This could be associated with Soviet times, because of the hippies who were persecuted for their hairstyles as criminals against order of the state. Thus, in my opinion, negative views towards long hair could be heritage from those times. On the other hand, not all opinions are negative. Some get compliments from people for having beautiful hair and are asked not to cut them.

Men themselves say that they grow long hair because it looks good, sometimes joke that hair is expensive so they could sell them one day. Also, according to them long hair has practical meaning for example hide ears or makes "headbanging" more fun. Also recently fashion to grow "goat beards" spread among "metalheads".

Speaking of clothing it must be noted that musicians often use more expressive costumes than fans. For example "Pagan metal" musicians often dress in chain armor, use swords, shields, horns and historic costumes to express their music's lyrics in visual way and to pay their respects to ancestors and ancient culture. It is possible that looks of their favorite musicians make fans to research and copy that style. Furthermore, most of the fans become interested in ancient cultures, history. Attitude towards that is often transpierced with romantic visions of glorious past and nostalgia for ancient way of life. Many "metalheads" join Pagan culture clubs to cultivate their visions. They start to learn ancient crafts, practice Pagan religion and so on.

3.3.2. Symbolism

Symbols used by metal culture often reflect their tendency toward ancient culture and Pagan religion. Various ancient symbols are worn not only as jewelry, but also are tattooed on bodies. Tattooing of symbols, for those who do that, mean that their attitudes are permanent and on some level will stay there for the rest of life. Frequently used symbols are pentagram, Thor's hammer, Celtic cross, inverted cross and swastika. These symbols mean not only connection to ancient cultures, but also express protest against mainstream.

Symbols like pentagram and Thor's hammer show that "metalheads" are interested not only in Baltic, but also in Celtic, Scandinavian, Germanic ancient cultures and mythology. Inverted cross and inverted pentagram for most of people associates members of metal culture to satanic cults and classifies them as devil worshipers. "Metalheads" have their own opinion about this – they say that those symbols show protest against Christianity and not Satanism. Those symbols are used as expression on negative view toward dominating Christian church who is trying to control every

aspect of people's lives. Also, it means putting yourself in opposition to sanctity of Christianity. As noted by one of informants: "[…] it is the form of cultural resistance"[8]

Similar symbols become and logos of the bands[9]. Logos provide fast identification and help to convey a significant image. Logos serve to identify the band both visually and verbally, since most of them present a bands name in stylized letterings.

Titles in them are stylized to the point that they are hard to read, that's why logos become works of art. "Logos are used on album covers and alternative media that accompany recorded music. They are also significant features of t-shirts, pins, hats and patches – the merchandize proudly worn by fans. […] Logos serve dual purpose of identifying the band and projecting its desired image, attitude and emotion to the fans" (Weinstein, 2000: 28).

Logos show the preference for the band or the genre of metal. Also, same classical symbols are used in logos as in jewelry (inverted pentagram, inverted cross or Pagan symbols). Often it is enough to look at the logo to understand what genre of metal is played by the band. Since logos of "black metal", "Pagan metal", "death metal" and others are very different. Every genre has its own symbolism and even prints.

Speaking of logos the most controversial and expressive are "black metal" logos. Almost all "black metal" logos have inverted pentagrams, which are stylized, but still raise associations with Satanism. Often even scarier symbols are used, for example goat or devil head is painted into the pentagram. Inverted crosses are also widely used. Also, the letters can be written in bloody red to look similar to dripping blood.

Here I am going to give some examples of logos and try to analyze their symbols in more detail. Bands logos are taken from metal database in internet at www.metal-archives.com.

pic. No.1 "black metal" band *„Anubi"* logo.

In this logo band title is decorated with inverted pentagram and inverted ankh. Egyptian ankh in this logo represents Egyptian religion themes in band lyrics.

[8] From interview, conducted on March of 2008.
[9] See appendix No. 3

pic. No. 2 “black metal” band *“Marduk”* logo.

In this logo we can see not only inverted cross, but also number 666, which is called “the number of the beast” and represent devil or antichrist in Christian mythology. This number is also often used in symbolism of “black metal” culture. I think that this symbol has similar meaning to other antichristian symbols – it is the form of protest against it.

“Folk metal” and “Pagan metal” bands use a little bit different symbols. They like to use folk art and runes in their logos. Some use ancient prints and also Pagan symbols. This logo is given here as an example:

Pic. No. 3 „*Skyforger*“ logo.

“Death metal” bands choose letters written like with fire or blood. Gothic style letters are often used. Logos are filled with different symbols of death: sculls, reaper scythe and etc. Using symbols of death could be considered as a form of protest against perfect and pretty world of popular culture. “Metalheads” try to show dark side of the world, which is often ignored by mainstream society. Things that bring up fear in people are shown without any embellishment.

Pic. No. 4 Band „*Ossastorium*“ logo.

Pic. No. 5 Band „*Death*“ logo.

Therefore, as seen above, band logos represent worldviews of metal culture especially protest ideas and critics for pop culture. Similar thing could be said about titles of the bands. “The band name serves both as marketing device and as artistic statement. To some degree, especially within “heavy metal” subgenres, the band’s name provides a context of meaning within which the titles and lyrics are interpreted” (Weinstein, 2000: 32).

“Bands titles also show power, intensity and danger in many different ways. Bands relate themselves to electric or mechanical elements *(“AC/DC”, “Motorhead”*), dangerous or unpleasant animals *(“Rat”, “Scorpions”),* dangerous objects *(“Iron Maiden”* (medieval tool for torture)). Bands can induce blasphemous aura with titles like *“Judas Priest”, “Blasphemy”* or by worship of death itself *(“Poison”, “Anthrax”)”* (Walser, 1993: 20).

“Themes of mayhem and cosmic evil are prevalent […]. Religious allusions abound, with terms such as “angel”, “hell” “sacred” and “saint” forming elements of bands names. These names evoke their own sort of power: the power of the forces of chaos and the power to conjure and play with those forces” (Weinstein, 2000: 33).

“Pagan metal” bands call themselves in the names of mythical characters *(“Eye of Odin”, “Nemesis”, “Astarte”).* Also, mythology created by J.R.R. Tolkien in *“Lord of the rings”* is often used *(“Amon Amarth”* (it is the “mountain of doom” in *“Lord of the rings”).* Therefore titles like these show relations between metal culture and worlds of fantasy and mythology. “Black metal” bands like to use titles that invoke pictures of darkness, destruction and death *(“Dark Funeral”, “Darkthrone”*).

As we can see, bands titles and logos, like all metal culture, is used to shock mainstream culture showing things that are kept “in the shadows”. And of course, mainstream society often has negative opinion about metal culture due to this shocking.

3.3.3. “Corpse paint”

This part of image is mostly used only for stage performances, but its expression and symbolic value is very important, therefore “corpse paint” must be included while talking about metal culture.

“Corpse paint” is one of exceptional details of image. It is black and white makeup that imitates corpses face or the face of some sort of demon. It spread in 1990’s between Norwegian “black metal” bands and became inseparable attribute of this genre.

Painted faces were part of warfare thousands of years ago. Warriors used war paint to scare their enemies and to represent ancestor spirits. Later makeup pervaded in theater and was used to impersonate characters better and to separate them from everyday life.

“Corpse paint” like it is now begun with band from USA *“KISS”*. In 1974 this band started new shocking trend – black and white painted faces. In 1975 singer *“Alice Cooper”* used this idea in his horror show – concert *“Welcome to my nightmare”* and elevated it from humorous to horrifying. In fact, “corpse paint” used by *“KISS”* or Alice Cooper wasn’t as horrifying as it is now.

Pic. No.6 band *„KISS“*, picture from http://rateyourmusic.com/misc/link_image?album_id=3076&image_hotlinked

Real history of “corpse paint” in metal culture began in 1985 when Norwegian band *“Mayhem”* first time used “corpse paint” and other attributes – fire, weapons, bloody pig heads – in their photo shoot. “Corpse paint” soon was established as symbol of evil, death and dark forces. In the beginning of 1990 even more black metal bands used “corpse paint” and other theatrical means as a protest against “metalhead” image of that time formed by sport t-shirt and beer drinking traditions.

On the other hand, “corpse paint” wasn’t just an image. There are more reasons why “black metal” musicians use it. Firstly, “corpse paint” together with spiked bracelets, leather, various demonic symbols, smoke and other stage effects help to create aesthetics of stage performance. “Corpse paint” helps musicians to reveal their commitment to human beings dark instincts, to create atmosphere of supernatural forces, to honor ancestors and ancient cultures that

were destroyed long ago. “Corpse paint” is an artistic mean that helps to reveal innermost nightmares and fantasies. In daylight this implement looks empty and has no relations to evil, but during a show it strengthens atmosphere and impressions. During concerts together with lights “corpse paint” helps musicians to impersonate demons, vengeance spirits and etc. While looking at those performances viewer feels taken to the other world.

Some bands use “corpse paint” as tribute to their predecessors. Most of the today’s bands use “corpse paint” in order to show that they learned a lot from bands like *“Celtic Frost”, “Darkthone”, “Mayhem”, “Emperor”* and others who not only started using “corpse paint”, but also formed “black metal” sound and image.

Another reason for using “corpse paint” have European bands, especially Scandinavian and Baltic ones. Bands from here emphasize that their Pagan roots were destroyed by heralds of Christianity. And in this way they try to metaphorically scare Christians while evoking image of their ancestors who came back to take vengeance.

Usage of “corpse paint” in creating bands image also stimulates society to see “metalheads” as bearers of evil, demons, Satan worshipers. Furthermore, for the reason that “corpse paint” is part of “black metal” culture also deepens this view.

Pic. No.7 Band „Mayhem“, picture from http://www.last.fm/music/Mayhem/+images/779313

Pic. No. 8 Vocalist of band *„Nahash“*. Picture from personal archive. Taken in 2008 03 01.

3.4. Being "metalhead": Worldview

Metal cultures worldview is mostly formed by music. Sometimes, "metalheads" say that this culture has no special worldview, but data from fieldwork tells different story. Even if members of metal culture do not talk about specific worldview it is visible from their actions and interviews. These features of worldview can be extracted from interviews and by looking at what unites this culture. So the main points of worldview are: music, protest, negative view towards popular culture, negative view towards religion (Christianity to be more exact) and respect for ancient cultures.

In this part I am going to describe those main points of worldview using interviews with my informants and also other data from fieldwork.

3.4.1. Protest

Being a rebel actually unites all alternative youth cultures, but on the other hand it is the object of their protest that shows their differences. As one of unifying factors "metalheads" named protest against popular culture. Mostly this protest has no political form. Rebelliousness asserts in different forms, it's not always have direct form. Firstly, clothes of "metalheads" could be considered as form of protest. As said before, their style is different that most of societies, it is visible and it makes a statement of individualism and also it brings up reactions. Denying what is called "normal" in society is a feature of all alternative youth cultures, especially those united by musical tastes and it often is expressed through visual forms of clothing and hairstyles.

There is a bit different form of protest in metal culture, because often, "metalheads" criticize current situations, but most of the time this critique is kept in small circles of like-minded and do not manifest in real actions.

Furthermore, as a form of protest could be anti-material and anti-commercial views. Real members of this culture think that metal should be kept alternative, it can't become mainstream product. For this reason, members of metal subculture even criticize their own if they try to get into mass media and into mass culture. Few years back there was a good example to illustrate these reactions. Lead singer of band *"Soul Stealer"* Jeronimas Milius took part in *"Eurovision"* song contest in 2008. This action brought up huge discussions among Lithuanian "metalheads" and also raised a lot of discontent. Furthermore, despite the fact that Jeronimas Milius is still trying to stay in metal scene and culture his fans practically "turned their backs" on him.

This situation shows that members of metal culture rebel not only against "gray society", "mainstream", but also the members of metal culture loose the respect of others if they try

to become famous through mass media. In the opinion of fans "members like that trample on their beliefs that metal culture should not be commercial and coincide with norm"[10].

Members of metal culture do not tolerate pop culture, because they think that it is boring, flat and promoting people to act according to restricting rules.

Therefore, it can be said, that one of the main points of metal culture is absolute freedom to look, to think and to talk as they pleases without any condemnation. According to one of my informants "metal culture is good because of the freedom of opinion. Everyone can have and express own views without being judged. And also, there is no one to tell you what and how you should do things."[11]

3.4.2. Religiosity

Members of metal culture are also united by their view towards mainstream religion and mostly this view is negative. It must be noted that, in this case religion which is talked about is Christianity. Some of the informants say that religion is used to restrain lives of people. Or it is created for weak people who can't find strength to fight for their place in the world. Others are more diplomatic when it comes to topic of religion, they say that religion doesn't bother them, but they are not believers. Actually this diplomatic approach is more often used by members of metal culture than any radical ones.

In fact, members of metal culture say that they try to ignore Christianity, but they fail. That is because of the fact, that Christianity is dominant religion of Lithuania. This raises problems with society, because religion creates values and morals extremely different from those of metal cultures. Also, most of my informants had experienced tries to convert them back on "the path of god".

This data brings to conclusion that members of metal culture do not despise religion, but try to be neutral. But on the other hand, religion is thought as sign of weakness. Especially negative view is towards Christian god, and church who is trying to keep people from thinking and fighting for themselves.

3.4.4. Satanism

While speaking of religion, stereotype that "metalheads" are Satanists can't be ignored. Firstly, it must be said that all informants call this stereotype nonsense, old wives' tale or absurd. Of course "metalheads" use satanic symbols, but as mentioned before inverted pentagrams

[10] From interview conducted in March 2009
[11] From interview conducted in January 2008

and crosses do not necessary mean satanic worldview. More often these symbols become tools for protest against Christianity or established norms of society. Satanic symbols are mostly used in "black metal" music, but mostly this means negative opinion towards Christianity.

Furthermore informants said that Satanism isn't something that is ignored by some members of metal culture. According to them it is quite often expressed by teen members of metal culture. They say, that teens, which just begin to listen to metal, look for a way to express anger, to destroy something to burn something, but still they can't be called real Satanists.

Satanic are symbols and lyrics of "black metal", but still they represent opposition towards Christianity. As mentioned before, black clothes have some influence for this attitude, but "metalheads" themselves say that it has no connection to Satanism. They say that often they are 'called Satanists due to long hair and black clothes, but that doesn't mean that they are truly Satanists.

There are few cases of Satanism among members of metal culture still, religious believes are not determined by belonging to metal culture, because in opinion of informants Satanist can be any person.

Most of members of metal culture think that this stereotype is absurd. But also, they think that stereotype isn't always bad thing, because it helps to create that oppositional and scary atmosphere and also "to scare old ladies". Other thing is that, according to informants, Satanism helps to create some kind of shield for metal culture that guards it from "idiots and religious fanatics" who are scared away by this satanic image.

There are some expressions of what I would call anti Christianity rather that Satanism. First example happened before Easter of 2008, a group of "metalheads" were partying in pub *"Antri namai"* in Kaunas and a procession of nuns and Christians walked by, carrying candles and singing psalms. So those, who stood outside started to laugh, shout "Satan" and show "devil horns" towards that procession. Later guys explained that it wasn't any kind of belief and they were just having fun. Other example would be recent events when vandalism in cemeteries in Panevėžys and Klaipėda took place. Some crosses were smashed and when people responsible for that were caught press started to talk about members of metal culture as Satan worshipers. But members of metal culture say that destroying crosses or burning churches isn't expression of Satanism, but more likely it is expression of teenagers' anger toward something. Moreover, guy who was put to jail for destroying cemetery in Klaipėda said, that despite the fact that he listens to "black metal", he never was and

never will be Satan worshiper and that reasons for destroying cemetery came from his anger and disgust towards society[12].

According to members of metal culture, Satanism is religion, it is Christianity put upside down. Also, Satanism is philosophical system: just like Christianity stimulates relationship with god, Satanism tries to show earthly values. Life is considered like existing here and now and not the one that might be after death. "Satanic bible" encourages living in now and do not wait for some awards that might come, also it declares freedom of actions as long as they do not harm others. Harming others is only allowed in defense. Therefore Satanism has nothing common with vandalism in cemeteries, sacrificing of animals or metal music. The only connection of metal culture and Satanism is freedom and opposition towards Christianity.

The connection between metal culture and Satanism were strengthened by Norwegian "black metal" scene. Some Norwegian musicians were responsible for burning of few churches. But members of metal culture value this fact ambiguously: some think that it was ultimate expression of opposition towards Christianity, while others think that it is disrespect for architectural monument, despite the reason it was build. Some informants were even joking that "Christians should be burned and not churches"[13].

3.5. "Metal tribe": Community and lifestyle

While speaking about metal culture it must be noted that it consists of large networks of friends. "Metalheads" themselves organize concerts, run internet portals and chat rooms, own pubs and music labels, prints and sell t-shirts and etc. In Lithuania metal culture isn't large, so basically everyone knows everyone and if not, they have common friends. This makes easier to research this culture, because it is easy to find informants.

While speaking of lifestyle it of course isn't very different from mainstream society, but it has some features that help to identify and observe metal culture. Furthermore, if everyday lifestyle do not necessary differs, but "metalheads" have their way of expressing themselves, partying and communicating. Members of metal culture have their specific gathering places and their own slang and some behavior. All these topics will be discussed in the following section.

[12] Interview with Košmaras, January 2009.
[13] Interview with Marius. March 2008.

3.5.1. Gathering places and parties

"Metalheads" spend their free time in pubs. Some names are mentioned by informants: *"Apuokas"* and *"Balti drambliai"* in Vilnius and *"Džem Pub'as"* and *„Antri namai"* in Kaunas. Pubs are chosen by various criteria, but mostly by surroundings, people and music. Also, some informants say that price of alcohol could be considered a factor. Beer plays a big part in metal culture since the beginning of it. Places are chosen by finding other "metalheads" or by circle of friends.

During spring and summer "metalheads" tend to change bars into open air spaces. They are also quite specific: for example "metalheads" of Kaunas gathers in place called *"Būdkė"* it is a place near Vytautas church, by Nemunas river. In Vilnius such place used to be *"Barbakanas"* or defensive wall of Vilnius, but now, due to construction it is rarely used. Also, summer is full of various festivals like *"Roko naktys", "Mėnuo Juodaragis", „Kilkim Žaibu", „Velnio akmuo"* and others. Festivals are good place for seeing favorite bands and meeting friends. Sometimes, in order to see favorite band, "metalheads" travel to foreign festivals like *"Wacken Open Air"* in Germany, *"Metalmania"* in Poland, *"Brutal Assault"* in Czech Republic and others. According to one of my informants, travelling to Wacken's festival is like a pilgrimage every "metalhead" must do.

In general, the most important thing is to find a place for free time where you could feel comfortable and that is guaranteed by people with similar values.

3.5.2 Behavior and slang

Behavior characterizing metal culture is extremely visible during concerts. Firstly it is **"headbanging"** – rhythmic head shaking by the music. This behavior has no symbolic value, but it could be understood as some kind of manifestation of freedom. "Headbangers" usually form few lines of people in front of the stage and form so called "headbang chains". Furthermore, "head banging" energizes "metalheads", helps them to deal with negative thoughts or bad mood. It is also expression of favor towards the band. One of the informants said that "aching of neck in the morning means that concert was very good". "Headbanging" helps to release negative energy, which in other case might be released in fighting or any other crimes. As vocalist of band *"Obtest"* said: it is better to see all these young people "headbanging" in the pit than out on the streets doing crimes or destroying themselves.

Other example of behavior is jumping from the stage during concerts. It is called **"stage diving".** This action is done not only by musicians, but also by fans. There is no fear in

jumping to the crowd, because you can be sure that you will be caught by the hands of other "metalheads". In this case unity of metal culture is expressed through absolute trust.

Third example of behavior is shared between metal, punk and skinhead cultures. This behavior is called **"pogo"** and it is jumping in the crowd and pushing each other. This "dance" sometimes gets pretty violent, but it also might be a trust test. While looking from a side "pogo" looks similar to fighting, but there are rules to it. Number one rule is to always look after other people, for example if someone falls down he or she is picked up immediately, because if not he or she might be trampled with combat boots and hurt. Other rule when going to "pogo" all sharp jewelry must be taken of, because it might hurt others.

Unity of metal culture is expressed and in **"unity"** or **"corna"** sign that is most widely used symbol of metal culture. According to "metalheads" this sign symbolizes unity. In metal culture this sign is known by variety of different terms: maloik, devil sign, devil horns, goat horns, metal horns, death fist, horns up, slinging metal, metal sign, sticks up, throwing the goat, rocking the goat, sign of the goat, throwing the horns, evil fingers, the horns, forks, metal fist, Satan salute and the Jackal. This symbol was introduced to "metalheads" by Ronnie James Dio, Italian American form band *"Dio"* who claims that he learned it from his Italian grandmother, who used it to ward of the evil eye. The **sign of the horns** is a hand gesture with a vulgar meaning in Mediterranean countries, and a variety of meanings and uses in other cultures. It is formed by extending the index and little fingers while holding the middle and ring fingers down with the thumb. When confronted with unfortunate events, or just when these are mentioned or suggested, a person wanting to avoid that fate could resort to the sign of the horns to ward off bad luck.

Now, this sign is widely used by members of metal culture throughout the world. It became a symbol of belonging to this culture, a symbol of appreciation for musicians, a symbol of good mood and etc. Also, this sign is used not only in concerts, but also in greetings and shaking hands.

Pic. No. 9 *„Unity"* sign. Picture fromhttp://blindsensations.blogspot.com/2007/07/sign-of-devil-m.html

There are some specific slang in the language of "metalheads". Firstly it is titles of clothing: *"koža"* – leather jacket; *"kerzai"* – combat boots; *"niu rokai"* – gothic boots; *"tunelis"* – bigger hole for earring; *„kamufliažkės"* – camouflage pants and others. Second group of specific words are related to music. There are specific genre tiltes: *"blekas", "defas", "trešąs", "paganas"* or *"juodmetalis",* this title is a bit different from others, because Lithuanian expression is used to name the genre of "black metal" and not English which is favored more for other titles.

Words like "brutal" or "Satan" became original proverbs in metal culture. They are used in everyday language very often.

Specific terms are used to define elements of music, for example: *"groulas"* (growl) – growling vocal of "death metal" music; *"soliakas"* (solo) – guitars solo during song; *"skrymas"* (scream) – high, screaming vocal of black metal.

As already mentioned there are specific titles for behavior like "head bang", "pogo", "stage diving", "wall of death" (type of "pogo").

Furthermore there are some specific terms to define places. For example *"Antranamis"* (bar *"Antri namai"* in Kaunas), *"Barbakanas"* (ruins of defensive wall in Vilnius), *"Būdkė"* (gathering place near Vytautas church in Kaunas) and others. Other group of slang words are names for drinks, which are important part of metal culture: *"Žalias daiktas"* (strong alcoholic drink *"Žalios devynerios"*), *"olus"* (beer) and others.

There are some slang words that characterize "black metal" culture. Those words are *"trū"* (True), "false", "trend", "poser". Term "true" means that bands or "metalheads" look to "black metal" music as their world and express their true emotions and thoughts. While terms "false", "poser" and "trendy" are used to describe "black metal" musicians who play this kind of music for money, fame, popularity, but do not believe in their art and also they do not represent "black metal" outside of the stage. Furthermore, these terms are used to define and metal fans. Especially terms "true" and "poser" are widely used.

Slang of metal culture consists of various English and Russian slang words, which are used in Lithuanian forms. Also, it should be noted, that often members of metal culture like to use aliases or nicknames and most of the time nicknames replace real names. Most of metal musicians are known by their aliases. Aliases are given by other members of culture or by themselves. They often depict real names, character traits or attitude and some symbols of metal culture. Especially musicians of "black metal" like to use aliases as their stage alter egos. Their names often mean names of ancient gods or evil incarnations.

3.5.3 Bad habits

Usage of alcoholic drinks is inseparable from metal culture. Many informants noted that beer is a traditional drink of metal culture. There is no concert or party without beer. It must be noted that very rarely strong alcoholic drinks are used.

First sip of beer, according to ancient tradition, is spilled on the ground as a sacrifice to the Pagan gods. This ritual is used almost always by Lithuanian "metalheads" and this show that they honor ancient traditions.

Characterizing element in alcohol usage could be so called warm-ups *(apšilimai)* before concerts. During them, "metalheads" gather in some place before a concert and have some drinks and talk. Actually, during concerts, most of the fans, and often musicians, are quite drunk, but this gives them more freedom to perform, "headbang" or just enjoy the concert.

Usage of alcohol is strongly tied to negative public opinion about metal culture. Because of alcohol usage during concerts and festivals mainstream culture see "metalheads" as degrades, trashes of society and so on. Therefore I have to say, that alcohol usage in metal culture is not an everyday lifestyle. Just rarely it becomes everyday habit. People who are abusing alcohol are viewed negatively by "metalheads" themselves. They are called "alco-metalheads" *("alkometalais")* and often they are considered fake members of metal culture. One of my informants said that "alco-metalheads" are not even "metalheads" because they hang out with others and go to concerts or festivals not for music and culture, but for alcohol.

Therefore, usage of alcohol can be related to metal culture just partially, because it is not substantial thing and abuse of alcohol is disapprobative. Furthermore, rational usage of alcohol is seen better alternative than usage of drugs. Actually, drugs are seen as very negative. "Metalheads" say, that "it is better to have a few beers than to use drugs".

Furthermore, usage of alcohol is getting smaller within metal culture. Some of "metalheads" say that music is enough to have a good time and alcohol is not needed for fun.

3.5.5. Community

"Metal audience stands somewhere in between [passive recipients of culture and folk culture]. Like all spatially dispersed modern audiences, it is not homogeneous, though it has a distinctive, persisting, and well-delineated core. Indeed, community is highly valued in the ideology of metal audience and is visibly represented by its dress code" (Weinstein, 2000: 95).

Community in metal culture might have geographic, temporal and subgenre variations. It must be said that this analysis was made after observing Lithuanian metal venues and speaking to bands and fans.

There are no special ways in becoming a member of metal culture. Informants say that someone can influence musical taste or thinking and that is how you become a "metalhead". So listening to metal music and loving it is essential, but it isn't the only thing. Member of metal culture must often visit concerts and socialize with other "metalheads".

While speaking about reasons why to become a "metalhead" informants say that they liked music, worldview, and attitudes. But during fieldwork and informal interviews other, deeper reasons emerged. Often reason for becoming a member of metal culture is negative personal experiences. Experiences like conflicts with family, divorce of parents, taunting from other kids at school and similar are often the reasons for becoming member of metal culture. Young people who suffer those experiences are looking for relaxation and escape in art. As one of informants noted: "happy people do not put on combat boots"[14]. Metal music help them to feel strong, gives them tools to fight with problems. Also, becoming a member of metal culture, a circle of like-minded, gives them sense of belonging, sense that they are not alone in the world. Therefore, becoming a "metalhead" helps them to express themselves in society.

Moreover, while researchers at CCCS emphasized the meaning of class struggles and defined all alternative youth cultures as belonging to working class, it must be said that the situation is changing. Members of metal culture do mostly come from working class families, but they often struggle for better education, even become scholars and try to separate themselves from the working class. Good example of this struggle in Lithuania is vocalist of "black metal" band "Nahash" who is senior lecturer in physics and work in Kaunas Technology University. There are more similar examples in Lithuania and even more throughout the world.

Dominating gender in metal culture is and always was male; but recently, more females come to this culture. More than male dominated, metal culture is also masculinist. Male identity is valued in opposition to female identity. "The male chauvinism and misogyny that characterize metal subculture are tempered by its sense of community. Females who do not flaunt their femininity , that is, who dress in jeans and black t-shirts, and who even more importantly display a love of music, are often welcomed and are treated as equals at events and concerts. Open hostility, of various sorts, is displayed towards females who do not conform to the dress and behavior codes" (Weinstein, 2000: 105).

[14] From informal interview with Eglė

The masculinist element in metal culture is not merely relevant to attitudes and treatment toward women, there is also an attitude of intolerance toward male homosexuality. "The metal subculture did not incorporate violence practice, but expressed its abhorrence for gays by means of more acceptable cultural practices. The relevance and hostility toward homosexuality in the "heavy metal" subculture is in some sense a reaction of resistance by masculinist interests against the change in dominant values" (Weinstein, 2000: 106).

Being a "metalhead" gives them various good things. Some informants enjoyed opportunity to interact with like-minded, others got valuable life experience, different view to the world, horizons were widened and new interests and knowledge was gotten. From this data we can draw a conclusion that belonging to metal culture gives its members wider field where they can socially express themselves and a sense of belonging to something bigger that just their own worlds.

Metal culture distinguishes from other youth cultures with extreme unity. Members are very friendly between themselves, but for outsider they might seem cold and hard to understand. During metal concerts and open air festivals sense of brotherhood can be strongly felt. Mostly members of metal culture are unified by metal music and musical taste is always harshly defended against anyone who is trying to criticize or condemn it.

In fact, all metal culture could be identified by close circle of friends and fans that is doing everything to keep culture alive: they play music, run record studios, print and sell t-shirt, print magazines and "fanzines", host internet portals and etc. Furthermore, music is not the only factor that unites "metalheads", also it is common values, worldview, attitudes and places. "Metalheads" interact not only directly, but also through internet portals.

Some conflicts inside culture are inevitable, but they are easily resolved. According to informants, conflicts are resolved in talking to each other and/or drinking together. So conflicts inside metal culture are resolved easier than conflicts with mainstream society and practically never come to violence.

More serious conflicts emerge when two different camps are formed inside culture. On one side there are teenagers who are just starting to get interested in metal and on the other there are older members of metal culture. Young members are usually more rebellious than older ones and they are less tolerant to others. Those conflicts are resolved during time.

Some members leave metal culture, informants say, that it happens because of change of musical taste or they just "grow up" and understand that metal is not for them. Therefore I have to say that age of "metalheads" various from 12 – 40 and even more, so it can be said that to most of "metalheads" this culture is part of their identity. Even if they drop "metal image" they still visit

concerts and enjoy music, the strange fact about it is that they still belong in the crowd and are not judged by their image.

3.5.6. Communication

As said before, members of metal culture interact in many different ways. With close friends people interact everyday and in various places; with others – during parties, concerts and festivals. But for most of "metalheads" internet portals are important place of communication and knowledge.

In Lithuania there are a couple internet portals dedicated to metal music and culture: www.ferrum.lt, www.dangus.net, www.hell-music.lt and www.giljotina.lt. They give news from Lithuanian and foreign metal scenes, review of new albums, interviews with bands, advertisements about concerts. Also, they are full of articles about metal culture, lifestyle, history, and worldview and so on. Frequently various surveys about metal culture are held there. But the most important is forum. Here many themes are discussed. Forums are organized by similar manner; they consist of few theme groups which help to classify discussions. Those themes are: 1. "Events". Here concerts past are reviewed and coming concerts advertized, impressions and photos are shared. 2. "Music". Here discussions about music take place, musical genres, bands and albums are discussed. 3. "Borders of metal". Here discussions about things that are close to metal music are discussed. For example parties, bars, other art forms. 4. "Ads". Here people place ads about buying and selling clothes, combat boots, records, instruments. Also, bands can place ads if they are looking for new musicians and etc. 5. "About life". Here various life themes are discussed. Worldviews, style, experiences and other things shared.

3.6. Attitudes towards society

No culture exists in a vacuum; therefore it is important to understand of what their surroundings consist and what culture is interacting to. Analysis of communication helps us to determine group's values, attitudes and social behavior. Furthermore, the setting of culture most likely forms alternative cultures themselves. That is because, as said before, main idea of metal culture is rebellion and if there is no one to rebel against it means there is no metal culture.

Setting of metal culture consists of other youth alternative cultures, youth who belong to "pop" culture and mainstream society. In this chapter I am going to talk about relationships between members of metal culture and members of groups that make their setting.

3.6.1 Relationship with other alternative cultures

Interaction between metal culture and other youth alternative cultures is inevitable, because they are united by similar ideas and lifestyles. Fieldwork and interviews show that "metalheads" interact with "Goths", "Skinheads" "Punks" and "EMO" cultures because they are connected by common friends, visited places, concerts and also by the fact that they all are called *"neformalais"* (non formals, informal).

Different alternative cultures usually have good relationship due to communal festivals and concerts and also by places they hang out. This means that their tastes in music and their attitudes towards the world, their values are similar. Of course differences sometimes create conflicts, but they are solved without violence.

Attitudes toward "Goths" and "Skinheads" are quite positive and they are accepted into friend circles. Friendships between alternative cultures could be due to the reason that alternative culture in Lithuania is so small that mostly everyone knows everyone. But still it can be said that it also show tolerance of metal culture in Lithuania.

There is different opinion about "punks" and "EMO's". Punks are often viewed as "trashes of society", "degrades", "alcoholics" and so on. Even more negative opinion is towards "EMO" culture that is called childish and foolish, because of their exaggerated sadness and even suicides. There are many jokes about "EMO's" and also, they are rarely accepted into circles of friends.

3.6.2 Relationships with youth from "pop" culture

Interaction with other youth is inevitable, because most of respondents are students of universities or schools. Also, since "metalheads" are noticeable and pronounced with their style they get much attention in the streets. Relationships with colleagues in university and classmates usually quite neutral, meanwhile in the street "metalheads" get many negative reactions. While speaking about conflicts with other youths, members of metal culture excluded *"forsai"* and *"fyfos"*.

Term *"forsas"* is used to describe bald young men who always wear sportswear, even if they do not exercise. Furthermore, these men often are very aggressive, intolerant and like to fight with others. *"Forsai"* are also called *"marozai", "buduliai"*. This group of people, according to "metalheads" is the most feuding. Conflicts arise mostly due to their intolerance also; informants noted that often different worldviews and lifestyles are reason for conflict. Some informants even said that worldviews isn't different, because *"forsai"* doesn't have one.

These conflicts have different expressions. It might begin from mockery and teasing to fighting. Mostly, "metalheads" are called *"banglais", "volosatais"* (longhaired in Russian), sometimes are called Satanists or mixed with other youth alternative cultures. Informants are often mocked about the length of their hair, for example, one informant told that he was offered money if he would cut his hair, he disagreed and then *"forsai"* offered to brake a bottle into his head. *"Forsai"* like to tease both, male and female, members of metal culture. Teasing like that is often ignored, because "metalheads" don't like to conflict with others. Sure, there are cases when necessity to physically self defence arise. It must be noted, that male "metalheads" are targets to violence more often than females. If "metalheads" have to fight, image parts like chains, spiked bracelets or combat boots become weapons. During fieldwork, few cases of fighting were observed.

For example during a concert in one of the pubs in Kaunas, group of *"forsai"* decided to attack some "metalheads" and in this way to show their hatred and negative attitude towards metal culture. But after only one punch they were chased away by other "metalheads" and skinheads who were at that concert. In cases like that, "metalheads" usually show unity and stand shoulder to shoulder to defend themselves and their lifestyle. Furthermore, there are cases when female members of metal culture are attacked. One informant told how few *"forsai"* pushed her away for the bus, saying that she doesn't belong here with her combat boots.

Informal interviews showed tendency for "metlheads" to assume identity of marginal, "bad guy", more accurately to embody qualities that society consider as evil. Thus, this identity does not help to avoid mocking, discrimination, teasing or even aggression.

Second group of youths are *"fyfos"*. Term *"fyfa"* is used to describe female who excessively look after their appearance, use lot of cosmetics, spends lot of time in solariums and shops. Often *"fyfa"* means same "stupid blond" from jokes. Conflicts with them rise from same differences as with *"forsai",* but those conflicts rarely cross line of mockery.

3.6.3 Relations to mainstream society

As noted before, relations to society or mainstream culture, is inevitable. In this part, attitudes to mainstream society and society's attitude towards metal culture will be discussed. Despite the fact that metal culture already exists for more than thirty years it has probably the most negative image in mainstream culture and society. Myths about "metalheads" are flourishing within mainstream culture.

3.6.3.1 Attitudes of "metalheads" towards mainstream society

As said before, one of main elements of metal culture is rebelliousness against popular culture and critics towards mainstream society. Mainstream society is viewed as "gray mass", unworthy of attention, disgusting, "victims of fashion and pop music, who are afraid to stand out from the crowd; act, think, dress alike, advocates of the herd instinct"[15]. Also, informants noted, that society doesn't understand youth cultures.

That might be a reason for indirect conflict between mainstream society and youth cultures. This conflict doesn't manifest in any aggression, but it creates discomfort for members of metal culture.

When asked, what is society's opinion towards metal culture, all respondents said, that it is negative. Metal culture is considered as aggressive. "Metalheads" are called criminals, Satanists, devils, alcoholics, drug-addicts and so on. One informant tried to explain, that the reason for these negative attitudes might be because of fear of unknown: "those who have no idea are terrified by people who are dressed in black, have long hair and have lots of metal accessories"[16].

3.6.3.2 Stereotypes and reactions

Despite the fact that metal culture exists for almost forty years it still raises fear in mainstream society. In my opinion "metalheads" raise fear because of the fact that the members of this culture want to be different and to resist norms of society. Some "metalheads" say that mainstream society simply do not understand them.

There are a lot of myths and stereotypes about this culture. Those "myths" are rooted so deeply that they are considered being absolute true. The most popular of those myths, that "metalheads" are Satanists was already explored, but it is not the only one.

"Metalheads" are considered being drug users, because of the sayings, that metal music can't be understood and liked without being under influence of drugs. Members of metal culture themselves say, that metal music in itself has so much power and energy, that you don't need any intoxicants. Also, members of metal culture are considered as alcoholics and dirty low-lives, but, as already said before; alcohol in most cases is used only during festivals.

There are myths about aggression of "metalheads". Most likely those myths are connected to their image: long hair, combat boots, chains, leather clothing. Furthermore, the fact that long-haired men in leather jackets often portrayed as "bad guys" in the movies. Even in the

[15] From interview with "metalhead" March of 2009.
[16] From interview with "metalhead" January 2008.

cases when “metalhead” image is used in positive meaning (there are only few movies that portray “metalheads” as “good guys”, a good example is movie *“The Crow”* (1994)) we can notice that this image is connected to romantic hero, avenger, radical rebel who is fighting against powerful enemy: society with its cruel laws, structure that can’t be fought with “normal”, legal ways. “Metalhead” in this case embodies individual who is fighting against system legitimated by wrong relations.

Incidents including members of alternative cultures are often exaggerated in the press. The best way to illustrate this is to look at articles about metal concerts and open air festivals, which are described as immoral, criminal and so on and on the other hand, mass festivals of mainstream society is pictured as perfect and calm.

Metal music is also often considered as a reason of murders and suicides. In Lithuania this attitude isn’t spread widely, but worldwide metal bands are often criticized for their influence towards young people. Censorship is applied to their lyrics and musicians are even persecuted for them. Needs to be said that fans of metal say, that music to them gives absolutely different emotions: it helps them to deal with problems, to survive and to fight. “It helps to defeat solitude and show that there are more people similar to you, brings you to some kind of secret alternative society.”[17]

As noted by Robert Walser “clothing and hairstyles of metal fans, as much as music itself, mark social spaces from concert halls to bedrooms to streets, claiming them in the name of metal community. And all these aspects of power provoke strong reactions from those outside metal, including fear and censorship” (Walser, 1993: 2).

It is hard to find out why the view of mainstream society is so negative. So in conclusion of this chapter I would like to quote Canadian anthropologists Samuel Dunn’s conclusion of the documentary *“Metal: headbangers journey”* (2005): "Metal confronts what we rather ignore, it celebrates what we often deny, it indulges in what we fear most, and that is why metal will always be a culture off outsiders".

[17] From interview conducted in December 2009.

IV "PAGAN METALHEADS"

As mentioned in the beginning, "Pagan metal" might be called one form of Paganism. "Pagan metal" derived from "black metal" culture in the 90's. It differs from other metal genres due to the themes of lyrics (portraying romanticized Pagan past and using folk songs), usage of folk instruments (*kanklės, skudučiai*, various pipes, violins, accordions and other), often usage of national languages and stylistic expression (using historical costumes and etc.). At first, "Pagan metal" was tied to "black metal" genre, but lately it grew to be a separate genre. "Pagan metal" now unites bands from different musical genres of metal under the Pagan worldview.

"Pagan metalheads" are members of "Pagan metal" culture who are also fond of ancient religion, history and culture. "Pagan metalheads" tend to join other Pagan communities, but that is not necessary.

The roots of "Pagan metal" lie in the music of Swedish one man band *"Bathory"*. He was influential in forming both the sound and the image of "black metal" and together the early "Pagan metal". Taking classical elements of traditional metal style, like bullet belts and leather, and amplifying this image *"Bathory"* created militaristic, fantastical visual style that invoked the Viking age as much as "heavy metal" culture. The early creations of *"Bathory"* influences "Pagan metal" until now. "Pagan metal" is fixated with notions of a romantic past and the vital, empowering identities that "Pagan metalheads" believe are available through pre-Christian culture. *"Bathory"* also was the first band to explore mythology (in this case Norse) and to make it the main theme of the music.

"Pagan metal" now is widely spread throughout Scandinavia, Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. Every region have their distinctive bands, with different mythologies and histories, but all these bands represent the romantic view towards Paganism, honor to the culture of their ancestors and to their history.

In Lithuania the history of "Pagan metal" begin with the experiments of the bands like *"Obtest", "Ha Lela", "Poccolus"* and *„Zpoan Vtenz"* around 1992. While bands like *"Obtest"* and *"Poccolus"* were following the Scandinavian "black metal" style, *"Ha Lela"* and *"Zpoan Vtenz"* combined metal music with folklore. These bands were the first to use Baltic and other mythology in their lyrics and ideology. With the beginning of "Pagan metal" festivals *like "Kilkim Žaibu", „Mėnuo Juodaragis"* and non existing now - *"Baltic Thunder","Krikšto skonis"* the "Pagan metal" music spread to the fans encouraged partying "metalheads" to the exploration of traditional culture, history and various mythological systems, emphasizing the Baltic one.

4.1. “Pagan metal” music and lyrical content

In the beginning “Pagan metal” music belonged to the genre of “black metal”. “Black metal” in the 90’s was divided into two theme branches. The first one talked about Satanism and the other turned back to the Pagan roots. Scandinavian “black metal” was a dramatic musical and visual break from any previous form of metal. “While virtually all earlier forms of metal emphasized clarity, energy and virtuosity, “black metal” music is dense, deeply distorted and cacophonous” (Walser, 1993). “Black metal” exchanged the guitar solos and strong structure of music to buzzing, droning wall-off-sound.

Now, “Pagan metal” music unites various metal genres and the unifying factor is lyrical themes and the usage of folklore. The music itself combines rebellious and loud metal music with folk songs. The usage of various folk instruments is also common. In Lithuania “Pagan metal” musicians widely use *kanklės* and various wind instruments.

4.1.1. “Pagan metal” lyrics

As mentioned before, lyrical content of “Pagan metal” songs are important part in understanding “Pagan metal”. Song lyric themes can be classified into 1.War songs; 2.Mythology; 3.Traditional culture. In this section I am going to analyze all these themes and try to explain their relation to “Pagan metal” identity.

Pagan religions inspired metal musicians since the very beginning of metal. They tend to represent opposition to Christianity in light of historical past. “Pagan metal” glances to Christianity as to evil. They raise Pagan believe as true one and also remember old times, worship ancestors and Pagan gods. In remembrance of ancestors “metalheads” are encouraged to grab a sword and to chase the invaders out:

“[…] Vytie, pūsk ragan	“[…] Vytie, blow your horn,
Kviesk visus vyrus karan	Call all men for the war
Pūsk, pūsk stipriau	Blow, blow stronger
Įbaugink atėjūnus	Scare the aliens
Ridenos makaulės lenkų, vokiečių	Heads of Polish, German and alien gods
Ir mums svetimų jų dievų	Are rolling like stones
Klūpojo prieš prūsą šunų pranašai	The prophets of dogs were kneeling
Drebėjo nuo josios sūnų	Against Prussia, scared by her sons
Dink! Ten iš kur atėjai! Dink!	Out! Wherever you come from, out!
Mirk! Atsibastęs šunie! Mirk!	Die! Vagabond dog, die!
Ei! Galąsk ginklus aštriai!	Hey! Sharpen your weapons!
Kardą kelk aukštai!	Rise up your swords high!
Kraujo negailėk![...]“	Don’t grudge the blood! […]”

(Obtest „997“ 1997)

Other part of "war songs" portrays glorious historical battles and war heroes. They are seen as those who sacrificed themselves in order to protect their country especially from crusaders:

„[...]
Draskė pykčio ir kerštо troškimas
Akmenines jų šaltas širdis,
Kad lietuviai Livonijà siaubė,
Griovė,degino jų pilis.
Manė sau, kad kelią užkirtę
Grįžtantiems lietuvių kariams
juos visus be vargo išmušę
Kerštą taip numalšinti galės !

Kariai Traidenio narsūs
Namon grįžo ledo keliu.
Žirgai traukė roges pilnas
Grobio iš pilių kryžnešių.
Žygį šį pats Perkūnas lydėjo
Kariai jautė globą jo...
Geležis ir ugnis tekalbėjo
Sutiktuos maldininkų lizduos.
[...]
Pamatė juos... Galybę kryžnešių...
Juodi kaip varno plunksna kryžiai mirtimi alsavo...
Artėjo jie... Kaip juodas debesis...
Lietuvių širdyse kovos ugnis vėl suliepsnojo... !
Sužvango kalavijai, sugaudė ragai !
Artėjo mūšis ! Mūšis Baltijos laukuos !
[...]
Ir užvirė nuožmi kova ant ledo,
Sustojo vyras prieš vyrą mirtinoj kovoj.
Ir ritos priešų galvos, kraujas liejos
Po kojomis lietuvių, kraujas, virstantis ledu.

O vakarop kai saulė nusileido,
Kariai Traidenio ruošės link namų,
Nebylūs teutonai aplink tįsojo
Keistai išbalę raudonam lede..."

"[…]
The anger and vengeance was burning
In their cold hearts made of stone,
For the reason that Lithuanians Livonia ravaged,
Destroyed and burned their castles.
They thought that if they intercept the road
For returning Lithuanian warriors
They will defeat them all without difficulty
And can sooth their vengeance that way!

Brave warriors of Traidenis
Rode home on the icy road
Horses pulled full sled
With a loot from castles of crusaders.
Perkūnas himself accompanied this campaign
Warriors felt his care
Iron and fire were talking
In the nests of the worshipers.
[…]
They saw them… Mass of crusaders…
Black, as raven's feathers, crosses breathed death…
They closed in… Like a black cloud…
The flame of the fight blazed again in Lithuanian hearts!
Swords clashed and horns were sounded!
Battle began! The battle in Baltic fields!
[…]
The fierce battle started on the ice,
Man against man stood in the deadly fight.
The heads of enemies rolled, blood spilled
Under the feet of Lithuanians, the blood that turned to ice.

And in the evening, when sun set,
Warriors of Traidenis readied to go home,
Silent Teutonic knights lay around
Strangely white on red ice… "

"Angis" "Ledo mūšis" 1998

These lyrics describe real historical battle that took place in 1270 on the 16th of February and was called battle of *Karusė*, due to its location (near Karusė in Western Estonia). Army of Grand Duchy of Lithuania led by Grand Duke Traidenis fought against united armies of Livonian order and Danish kingdom on the frozen Baltic Sea. It is thought that Grand Duke Traidenis attacked Livonian order and reached Sarema Island traveling on the frozen sea. While returning with loot Lithuanian army was ambushed by enemies, but defeated them.

There are more lyrics that describe glorious battles, historical personalities and the courage of warriors. Actually, war against crusaders is dominating theme in "Pagan metal lyrics". Practically all Pagan metal bands despise Christian knights and their cruelty. Not all "Pagan metal"

lyrics about battles are related to historical facts, but still they are written to honor the courage of ancestors who fought back against larger and better equipped armies and managed to win:

"[…] Mirtis ten mojuoja savo dalgiu	"Death waves there with her scythe
Ir kraunasi sostą iš priešų galvų...	And builds her throne from enemies heads
Kovoja ten broliai už garbę Dievų!	Brothers there fight for honor of gods
Ten mano vieta, ten būti turiu!	That is my place where I have to be
Ten lūžo kalavijai...!	There swords were broken!
Ten aižėjo šalmai...!	There helmets cracked!
Žirgai iš skausmo žvengė	Horses whickered
Ir stingo kraujo klanuose kariai...	And warriors stiffened in their blood…
Mirtis tądien užkando sočiai,	Death snacked substantially
Užteko priešų Jai galvų...	There was enough enemy heads…
Sustabdė sraunią priešų upę broliai,	The wild water river was stopped by brothers
Tačiau atrado daugelis jų prieglobstį Dievų..."	But also many found haven between gods…"

(Angis "Nešk, brolau, kovon", 2002)

Lithuanian Pagan metal texts are filled with critics toward Christian knights. They are called "German dogs", "ghosts of war that bare crosses". Hate towards Christian knights is common between "Pagan metalheads" throughout the Europe. Musicians try to depict real intentions of pillaging and raping, that is hidden under the sign of the cross.

Second thematic group of "Pagan metal" lyrics include mythological characters and legends. Pagan gods are often mentioned, they are asked for help defending home, defeating enemy and so on. "Pagan metal" texts vary depending on country, because of different history and mythology of different nations, but they are all united by hatred towards Christianity and nostalgia for old times. While looking to all "Pagan metal" most popular characters in lyrics are Nordic gods like Thor, Odin, Tyr and others. The reason of it is the vast number of bands that come from Scandinavian countries.

In Lithuanian "Pagan metal" names of the gods are used less. But still, the main characters are *Perkūnas* (God of thunder), *Medeina* (Goddess of forests), *Giltinė* (Goddess or personification of death), *Gabija* (Goddess of fire) and *Velnias(Vėlinas, Pykuolis)* (God of the underworld and smithery). Some bands try to describe ancient gods and remember them, also showing that they are suffering, because they were forgotten:

„Tarp tamsių miškų klaidžiojo dvasia,	"In the dark wood spirit was roaming,
Ji liūdna ir pikta,	She was sad and angry,
Klajoja nerasdama vietos	Wandering without a place
Apleista ir pamiršta.	Abandoned and forgotten.
Jos kūnas gražiausios merginos,	Her body was like the prettiest of women,
Bet vidus piktos gyvatės,	Her soul was furious like snake,
Medeinės tamsioji pusė,	Dark side of Medeinė,
Griaunanti gamtos jėga.	Destructive force of nature.
[...]"	[…]"

(Poccolus "Kirs, Medeine, kirsk"1996)

"Pagan metal" musicians often sing of ancient legends or tales. Include folklore to their lyrics and melodies:

[...]..Kas naktį staugia geležim vilkai
Kiekvieną akmenį sudrebina balsai,
Pilis pasidengia sidabru pilnaty,
Stovės čia miestas – amžiams Lietuvos širdy! [...]"

„[...] Every night the iron wolves howl,
Their voices crush the giant stones.
In the full moon the castle glows in silver
The eternal city – the heart of Lithuania – will emerge here! [...]"

(Obtest "Geležinis vilkas"2002)

This song tells a legend about establishment of Lithuanian capital city Vilnius. The story goes that Grand Duke Gediminas after the hunt on Tauras Mountain dreamed a howling iron wolf, whose voice made hills and forests tremble. Later, high priest *(krivis)* Lizdeika explained that this dream means that the city must be established on that mountain and that its fame will spread as the howling of the wolf.

Other inspiration for lyrics is folk tales and poetry. Band *"Obtest"* have a song about twelve brothers who were turned to ravens, this is the plot of one of most popular tales in Lithuanian folklore.

…Išlakstė juodvarniais
Išlaisvinti vaikai,
Juodi sparnai -
Piktosios pamotės kerai
Ieškot savo brolių sesuo iškeliavo,
Didysis erelis jos brolius surado…

…Flew out as ravens
Children who were freed
Black wings –
Sorcery of evil stepmother
Sister traveled to search for her brothers
They were found by Big Eagle…

…Dienas jie slepia
Virš debesų kalne,
Naktį niūrioj -
Padanges raižo tamsoje…
Sulygina naktį su žemės juodybėm
Nuaudžia takus į tamsias begalybes…

During days they were hiding
In the mountain above the clouds,
During sulky nights –
They carved the skies in darkness…
They balance night with blackness of earth
And weave trails to dark infinities…

Dvylika brolių, Juodvarniais laksto...

Twelve brothers fly turned in ravens!

Išnyks kerai
Kai numegzti bus marškiniai
Visi pražus,
Jei sesei dilgelių pritrūks…
Tyli beveidė, neprataria žodžio
Rankas savo slepia, akių neparodo..

The spell will be broken
When shirts will be knitted
All will be lost
If sister will lack of nettles…
Faceless she keeps silent, speaks no word
Hides her hands, doesn't show eyes…

Už raganystes,
Ant laužo auštant ji sudegs
Ar spės lyg ryto
Ji broliams marškinius numegzt?
Dvylika metų padangių galybes
Juodvarniais maišę nužengė vyrai..

For witchcraft,
She will burn when down brakes
Will she manage till morning,
To knit the shirts for her brothers?
For twelve years in sky might
They flew like the ravens and now they are turned back to men…

"Obtest" "Dvylika Juodvarnių", 2002

While the usage of folk tales is understandable, there is a paradox when we look at poetry used by "Pagan metal" musicians. The most popular poem used for songs (it has at least two versions in "Pagan metal" scene) is a poem by Maironis called *"Milžinų kapai"*. This poem tells a story about invading of Christian knights and the suffering they brought to Lithuanian and Prussian lands. But the paradox is that Maironis was a Christian priest. Also, poetry of Maironis represent the period of Romanticism, when all folk culture was highly valued and the preservation of folklore began. This shows the fact that "Pagan metal" culture is more open-minded. "Pagan metalheads" proudly use creations of Lithuanian authors, despite their religious beliefs and raise patriotic feelings above religious ones.

Furthermore, "Pagan metal" bands do not necessary use all folk tales and legends, sometimes they only incorporate only symbols used in folk culture: *"Gegutėm pavirtusios sesulės raudojo..."* (Sisters wept turned to cuckoos), (*Andaja "Iš atminties"*, 2006). Cuckoo in Lithuanian folk songs is bird that represent young girls sadness and despair, also it is used as a symbol of dead girl's soul which visits her relatives.

Third thematic group of lyrics portrays cultural heritage of ancient religions. Songs about old festivals and rituals belong to this category. These lyrics show deeper connection to ancient roots, they tell stories about culture, customs and world-views of ancestors. Most of those texts are full of ancient symbols from folklore:

„Bedugnė Pykuolio	"Abyss of Pykuolis
Ir Deivės sapnų karalienės buveinė...	And dwelling of Goddess queen of the dreams…
Ateik ir amžių pabūk	Come and stay for century
Prie mirštančios lopšyje Šiaurinės	By the cradle of dying North Star
Kvapą griuvimo sugauk,	Catch the breath of destruction,
Rankas daužyki į uolą,	Bash your hands to the rock,
Saulę juodą prikelk,	Wake up the black Sun,
Mėnulį sniegynų valdovą	And Moon – lord of snowfield
Liepsną - gyvatę tujen paleisk!	Throw the flame snake!
Ne ženklą! Gyvą ugnį!	Not sign! But live fire!
Vėją mirusį tujen prikelk,	Raise the wind from the dead,
Akmens nebylų liežuvį!	And stones silent tongue!
O tada, bėk, nerki į jūras,	And when run, dive to the seas,
Ant kalno vilku tujen stauki!	Howl like a wolf on the hill!
Karo ragą speigu tujen pūsk:	Blow the horn of war with frost:
"Aš gimiau! Plieną man grūdink!	"I was born! Harden my steel!"

(Ha Lela "Pabudimas", 1998

Also, we can find world-views of ancestors within "Pagan metal", for example *"Obtest"* song *"Gyvybės medis"* paints a picture of ancient Lithuanian understanding of world structure. This song is also based upon folk song *"Jovaras"* that is considered the anthem of religious community of *"Romuva"*. It shows three sections of the world: heaven, earth and underworld as parts of the tree: branches and leafs, trunk and roots. This version of world structure is common in Baltic and Nordic mythologies.

Lithuanian "Pagan metal" musicians fill they lyrics with beliefs and symbols of folk culture, they sing about oak trees, fire, sun, mead and beer:

Tiesiai į dangų, krinta iš rankų,
Tik nespėja akis sužiūrėt…
Kyla it liepsnos, užkeikimai ir burtai,
Tylomis tolimos praeities…
Aidi nuaidi, pavirsta į šaltį,
Sustoja vanduo į ledą…
Tiesiai į dangų, nuo barzdos,
Paskutiniai midaus lašai…

Slip out of hands, and fall up to the skies -
Unfathomable to human eye…
Rise up in flames from enchantments and spells,
Silently out from the past…
Whispers and sounds, turn into frost
All water halts – and turns to ice
Up to heaven… falls the last drop of mead
Dripping from my beard…

"Obtest" "Apeigos", 2007

Also, festivals, rites of passage, funeral rites and customs are pictured in the lyrics of "Pagan metal":

Įgels, akis užmerks, ir kada nors nušvis,
Aukos midum, krauju ir šermenų gėrybėm,
Deglais lydės, išdegins takelius pirmyn,
Į rato vidury, kur erdvės susipynė….
Tai paskutinė kelionė iš mano kūno,
Bet dar ne pabaiga…

Eyes sting as the close, to rise again,
The sacrifice of mead, blood and the goods of a funeral feast
The torches will signal and burn the roads
To the heart of the circle in which emptiness meets
This is the last journey from my flesh
But still this is not the end

Nedelsk, nebus rytoj išgarbintų vardų,
Tik toliai kruvini sau ištakas suranda,
Tau šmėkla Giltinės nusilenkia žemai,
Ilsėtis po mirties, dėja mums lemta…
Į nebūtį krenta garbus gyvybės rūbas,
Tai dar ne pabaiga….

Do not linger – no names will rest here after today
Distant bloody unforgettable memories remain
The shadow of the Giltinė engulfs
But we will not rest yet
A blessed cloth of essence falls into the void
Yet this is not the end

Dar niekas nesugrįžo iš pradžių pradžios,
Atsiveria dausų šviesoj jau viską matę,
Pritrūks tyla raudoj sugeltos išminties,
Pas mirtį mes visi tokie panašūs….
Tai paskutinė kelionė iš mano kūno,
Tai dar ne pabaiga….

No one returned from the beginning
Those who beheld as it all unfolded in the heavenly light
Silence will pass, the wisdom ripened in tears
We are all as one when are all embraced by death
This is the final journey for my body
But still this is not the end…

Obtest "Tai ne pabaiga", 2006

Despite the fact that most of metal lyrics are written in English, no matter what is a bands origin, "Pagan metal" is almost always performed in mother tongues. This gives listeners

stronger feeling of belonging to their cultures and easier understanding of what musician want to say.

4.2 “Pagan metal” style

Members of “Pagan metal” culture have their own way of using ancient Pagan symbols combining them with attributes of metal cultures style. The synthesis of them creates new and unique style, which is visible and exceptional within metal culture and also mainstream society.

Just like members of “black metal” scene “Pagan metalheads” adopted visual style that has some precedent in earlier metal. The black leather and metal studs worn by many segments of the metal community were turned into huge gauntlets with massive pointed spikes. War imagery like bullet belts, popular in other metal genres, were exaggerated for or embellished with medieval armor and weaponry. “Corpse paint” used by “black metal” scene was changed into “war paint” representing the ancient warriors.

4.2.1 Clothing

Sometimes clothing represents their beliefs. Parts of the traditional costumes are incorporated into everyday wear. That creates interesting mix of leather and flax, traditional belts and combat boots, metal spikes and brass pendants and etc. This mix of symbols makes members of “Pagan metal” culture different from other members of metal culture and also different from mainstream society.[18] Since “rebelling against commercial, consumer society, filled with dirt and stupidity”[19] is one of the main features of metal culture I think that this is their way of separating themselves from it.

“Pagan metalheads” often use an image of ancient warriors, who came back to avenge destruction of their culture. Musicians of “Pagan metal” like to add to their shows not only clothing, but also swords, shields, armor to make their statement even more persuasive.

Historical costumes of “Pagan metalheads” “help to create a link between this time and the old times”[20]. So musicians dressed as warriors not only create atmosphere, but also they pay respects to their ancestors.

As for “Pagan metal” fans their style is also quite unique while comparing it to other “metalheads”. “Pagan metalheads” like to wear leather pants and flax shirt mimicking their favorite

[18] See appendix 1
[19] Reference to one of my conversations
[20] From interview

bands. During concerts or open air festivals they sometimes dress up in chain armor and carry swords.

Also, jewelry of "Pagan metalheads" is quite distinctive. They like to wear brass jewelry (brass jewelry was used by ancient Baltic cultures and was widely known in territories of Lithuania and Latvia). Brass is worn as pendants, bracelets and rings, also Pagans like to wear reconstructed historical jewelry (for example collars and warrior bracelets). Various reconstructed brooches are also very popular. Furthermore, "Pagan metalheads" do not refuse jewelry worn by fans of other genres of metal like spiked chokers and bracelets, but they don't have any meaning to them while brass jewelry is understood as having symbolic value.[21]

4.2.2. Symbols

During observation I noticed that members of "Pagan metal" culture like to combine Baltic Pagan symbols with their everyday wear. As Baltic symbols mostly is used brass jewelry, reconstructed from period of Grand Duchy of Lithuania or even more ancient times. Amber is used widely also.

The main Baltic symbols Pagans use are brass jewelry which is hand made by blacksmiths or folk artists. Usually this jewelry is bought at some festivals or Pagan celebrations, because it is hard to find those people. Symbols are reconstructions of archaeological findings from pre-Christian graves. Meanings for them are also given through knowledge of folk culture. Most commonly used symbols are **grass-snakes**. They are shown in **spirals** which represent eternity or harmony. One of the Pagans had a tattoo on his chest, representing **swastika** made from grass snakes. As he said it represents symbol of sun. Some Pagans use modified swastikas in their jewelry or clothing. They also note the meaning of sun and try to escape Nazi meanings.

Traditional belts and flax clothing are very common between members of culture. These are more common between musicians and those who are more into traditional culture than into metal culture. Parts of traditional costume become important to express nationality. Also, it is widely used by "Pagan metal" and "folk metal" bands to create their stage look for concerts.

Speaking of **amber**, which became something very Lithuanian for souvenir sellers, Pagans are critical about it; they use amber in their expression of identity, but still this amber has to be collected on the shores of Baltic Sea. Most of the informants said that they would never buy amber jewelry. The reason for it is that most of the sellers import their amber from Russia or

[21] See appendix 2

Belarus. Some of the informants referred to the legend of Jūratės amber castle. They said that carrying amber from the bottom of sea is like symbolic connection to the legend, because this way they are carrying part of that castle with themselves.

According to respondents meanings of those symbols are obvious. They do not give any other meanings to Baltic symbols. To them that is an expression of national feelings, of pride being Baltic, being Lithuanian. Also, it shows their understanding of Baltic Pagan traditions and their own ethnic culture. Here I have to say, that Baltic symbols are more common between older members of culture, because as one of the respondents said "understanding comes with experience". He also noticed, that younger members of culture most of the time are in stage of searching, so they use many different symbols and beliefs.

For people I interviewed, Baltic Pagan symbols are their way of expressing their Baltic and Pagan identity. In their words, it's an expression of love for motherland, for their ancestors and their traditions. In a way, Paganism for these people becomes tool of rebellion. They rebel against mainstream society and Christian religion. As one of the informants said the reason for rebelling is for remembering the Pagan past, since "Christianity is not native here, it has been brought by sword, and fire. Christians are the ones to blame for many years of plundering and killings". Similar meanings are very frequent for all informants. So I think that this is the most important thing of using Pagan symbols in Lithuanian "Pagan metal" culture.

On the other hand, there is another thing which draws members of metal culture to their national roots. It is their music. Many metal bands use Lithuanian mythology and Pagan symbols in their song lyrics. Most of them try to recreate traditional costumes on stage. Band members usually wear flax clothing with combat boots and leather pants, firstly creating that mix of metal cultures style and traditional style. Brass pendants and rings are visible part of their expression too. So musicians demonstrating their beliefs in this way become role models for their fans. But in this case, the meaning of actual symbols becomes important only for musicians and for the fans – it's just an expression of favorite band, just like t-shirt with logo on it. Of course, in most cases, this becomes a beginning to road to knowledge. Since fans start to use these symbols, they try to find out their meanings. Also, wanting to understand the music, most of the fans start to look for knowledge about the meanings of the texts. There are many examples of how becoming the fan of the band is also start to becoming a Pagan.

Lithuanian Pagan symbols are used in constructing Pagan identity, also, to construct Lithuanian identity. They are visual expression of love and pride of cultural heritage and also construction of new beliefs on ancient foundations.

Lithuanian “Pagan metal” culture is orientated to indigenous Pagan religion, but also, members of it are interested in Celtic, Scandinavian, Germanic and other Pagan religions. This interest in many ways also comes from music. Especially Scandinavian Paganism is exported through there metal music. So, members of culture, again interested in understanding what the symbols or lyrics used by foreign bands mean begin searching for knowledge. And in a way, those symbols become their own way of expressing favor to the band and also rebelliousness towards mainstream culture.

So, Scandinavian **Thors hammer** becomes something closer to the person, because it’s Pagan and not Christian, not mainstream. In this way it loses meaning which is given to that symbol by his creators and gets a new one. But also, since Thors hammer represents masculinity, strength and etc. I noticed that this symbol is liked more by males and worn by them.

Similar thing is with **pentagram**. It comes to Lithuanians through Wiccan religion, like the symbol of five elements. So again, since Wiccan religion for Lithuanians seems to be very feminine, pentagrams are mostly worn by female members of culture. According to them pentagram represents their connection with nature, in some cases with goddesses. In this case respondents sounded like a feminist wiccans, but when asked about rituals, they said that they never do any, except celebrating Baltic Pagan festivals and so on. Also, one of the informants told me, that pentagram is the cross of Laumė (hag or pixie in Lithuanian mythology) and that this symbol was used to protect family and cattle from evil magic of witches. I was trying to find out if there really was something similar, but I can’t give any proof. So maybe this is also a construction of belief.

Similar to pentagram is **Celtic cross**, which is also referred to as an ancient symbol, connected with druids and wiccans. People I talked to don’t say that they are druids or wiccans, they say, that they are just fond of all Pagans.

So foreign Pagan symbols are incorporated into members of “Pagan metal” culture and it represents some of their native meanings and also is given some new meanings which make them easier to adapt in Lithuanian culture. Mix of these symbols helps to create Pagan identity as opposite to Christian identity. Some of the informants said, that they share something with other Pagans of Europe since all Paganism was suppressed and destroyed by Christianity.

I have to say few words about non Pagan symbols. In “Pagan metal” culture there are two very important symbols which have very negative meaning in society. In a way these symbols connect to Pagan beliefs of members of culture. Those symbols are upside down pentagram and upside down cross.

Both these symbols are connected with Satanism, but Pagans in metal culture give them meanings which differ from those most frequent in society. Pagans say that for them, these symbols represent rebelliousness against mainstream. They say that sometimes it is nice to scare people, to play with stereotypes and show that they are different. So these two symbols represent the rebellious nature of culture, using them they are "trying to honor their Pagan ancestors killed in battles with Christian knights".

4.3 Worldview

Worldview of "Pagan metalheads" is "in the middle" between real neo Pagans and other branches of metal culture. They have strong feelings towards nationalism and ancient religions as neo Pagans and also, they tend to emphasize protest against mainstream culture and religion through their attitudes. These attitudes will be discussed in further detail in the following sections.

4.3.1 "Pagan metal" and view to Christianity

As mentioned before, all metal culture has strong negative feelings towards Christian religion. Still, those members of metal culture who associates themselves with Pagan religion have absolutely different view towards Christianity. Pagan religion is thought as closer to them, because that is the religion of their ancestors. They say that Pagan religion has been here, while others are brought with "sword and fire". Influence for that might come not only from interest in ancient roots, but also lyrics by "Pagan metal" bands. Also, interest in ancient crafts and culture are expressed in taking part in warrior clubs or Pagan religious communities.

Baltic culture isn't the only one that interests "metalheads". According to informants' interest in various ancient European cultures are closely connected to worldview of members of metal culture. Interest in old times, as already said, depicts also in song lyrics. That encloses a circle between musicians and fans. They stimulate one another in creating original romantic view of ancient cultures and also enhance hostility towards Christianity, who is blamed for destroying that world.

Members of metal culture do not worship gods in any particular rituals; their way of Paganism is expressed in respect to ancient cultures and history. Paganism become tool for opposing Christianity, who, according to "metalheads" is rooted to deeply.

Interest in Paganism motivates members of metal culture to know their own culture and history and also to know other cultures. Knowledge is also gained about Egyptian, Scandinavian, Celtic mythology and history. Often Wicca, Druidry, Shamanism are also points of interest for "metalheads". But still mostly, this knowledge isn't used in rituals and they do not cross boundaries of cognition.

4.3.2 Nationalism and "Pagan metalheads"

Strong national feelings in Lithuanian alternative youth cultures are quite often. The reason for that might be the fact that Lithuania is still quite "young" independent country. Also, as mentioned before, interests in Paganism connect individuals to motherland and cherish the sense of patriotism.

Still, patriotism of "metalheads" is not as nationalistic as with "skinheads", they tend to "love motherland silently". "Pagan metalheads" often participate in national festival celebrations, for example the march through Kaunas on 16th of February or the march through Vilnius on the 11th of March. These marches are organized by organization called *"Lietuvos Tautinio Jaunimo Sąjunga"* (Union of Lithuanian national youth) and mainly include members of skinhead culture, but attendance is free to all. Since youth cultures in Lithuania tend to cooperate fully "metalheads" join skinheads in carrying national flags through cities and cheering.

Example of cooperation of cultures due to nationalistic feelings might be illustrated in example of celebration of Lithuanian Independence Day in Kaunas on February 16th, 2010. "That day was important for nationalistic and Pagan reasons, the day of independence coincided with celebration of *Užgavėnės* (day when, according to traditions, winter is chased away and spring is welcomed). So three events were planned by youth organizations: march through *Laisvės* Alley, rites of *Užgavėnės* by the altar in the junction of Neris and Nemunas and "Pagan metal" concert. Same people participated in all events."[22]

Despite the fact, that many foreign "Pagan metal" bands are strongly connected to nationalism and even neo-Nazism, Lithuanian "metalheads" distance themselves from these views. Actually, most of the members of "Pagan metal" culture have apolitical worldview.

[22] From researchers diary (February 17th, 2010)

4.4 Mythology and rituals

As already shown in analysis of "Pagan metal" lyrics in mythology the emphasis is put on the war aspect of ancient worldview. This explains why "Pagan metal" bands often use war gods names in their titles. For example Norwegian band *"Tyr"* is named by lesser war god of the Norse mythology; Finish band *"Turisas"* is also named to honor the war god of ancient Fins. So mythology of "Pagan metal" is mostly related to war. Gods of war are summoned to help defeat the Christian knights and to restore ancient order and harmony.

But there is another aspect of mythology within "Pagan metal" culture and this comes from usage of folklore and ancient symbols. Oaks and holly fires means a lot to "Pagan metalheads", nature is often considered home of the gods (or living being) and for example oaks are never used to make fire.

Most of the "Pagan metalheads" do not believe in gods as entities, but more likely like the energies of the nature and the idea of *"Gaya"* is quite spread. "Idea of "Gaya" means the believe that all Earth is one big living organism and every tree, grass, bush, bird, mammal, the smallest insect and also humans are part of it. That every rock, swamp and forest is the organs of this huge living creature and the rivers and oceans are its blood and veins".[23] That "creature" is called *"Gaya"* by the name of Greek titan Gaya who embodied earth and was considered mother of all living beings. In this concept ideas of ecological living flourish, at least it is tried to apply during open air festivals.

In other case, nature can be understood in opposition with modern culture. Since nature to them is something primal, and "metalheads" see it as a place to escape from the corrupted society and "urban jungle".

Furthermore, "Pagan metalheads" are not tied to any specific mythology as are reconstructionist Pagans. They use images of various mythical creatures and gods from other Pagan religions. Most of the "metalheads" say that they do not believe in gods as entities, rather in the romantic idea. Also, "Pagan metalheads" are not tied to one mythological system, just like "eclectic Pagans" they can explore and use any mythology (even the one created by J.R.R. Tolkein) without any moral conflict.

As for rituals, "Pagan metalheads" often join the rituals of religious Pagan communities, but also they have some rituals of their own. They celebrate holidays of Pagan calendar like *Jorė*, winter and summer solstices, autumn and spring equinoxes and others. During

[23] From interview

these festivals they either join religious Pagan communities in their rituals or make their own rules for celebrating them with partying and songs.

"Beer spilling" ritual is widely spread in Lithuanian "Pagan metal" culture. This ritual is carried out spilling the first sip of beer or other drink citing the words of band "Obtest": "Auka seniems dievams", that translates as "offering to the ancient gods". "Metalheads" ground this ritual in the ancient Baltic religion. The rite called "*žemynėliavimas*", when the first sip of drink and the first bite of food was thrown on the ground for goddess Žemyna.

Other example of ritualistic behavior is clang of tumblers with others is always followed by clanging the tumbler to the table or the ground. This action is considered as a mean to prevent bad luck. Lithuanians, as many other cultures, believed that loud sounds keep evil spirits away, so the sound of clanging tumblers is believed to have such function. Furthermore, banging to the table (or any other wooden surface) is considered to be magical way of preventing bad luck, so this tradition (or ritualistic behavior) is inspired by ancient beliefs. This tradition began with "Pagan metalheads", but now it is common behavior within all metal culture.

4.5 "Pagan metal" festivals

The concept of alternative festivals was outlined by early festivals like *"Woodstock"* in 1969 and *"Altamont"* also in 1969. *"Woodstock",* the utopia of peaceful hedonism and community and *"Altamont",* the dystopia of macho violence, exemplify the polarity of the 1960's youth culture. The "heavy metal" subculture borrows from both of them, never effecting a genuine reconciliation of the utopian and dystopian oppositions, but creating, instead, a shifting bricolage of fashion, ritual and behavior, which includes elements of each partner in binary opposition" (Weinstein, 2000: 103).

Open air festivals became important part of metal culture. As mentioned above most of the "metalheads" travel far to hear favorite bands and to meet new people. During the summer in Europe there are lots of various festivals, most popular of the are *"Wacken open air"* in Germany, *"Brutal assault"* in Czech Republic, "*Metalshow.lv"* in Latvia*, "Tuska Open Air"* in Finland and others. Lithuanian "metalheads" also have few choices from festivals in summer like *"Kilkim Žaibu", „Velnio Akmuo", „Roko naktys", „Mėnuo Juodaragis"* and others.

As for "Pagan metal" festivals two must be mentioned*: "Kilkim Žaibu"*(„Pagan" and "black" metal festival) and also *"Mėnuo Juodaragis"*(festival of contemporary Baltic culture and neo folk music). Both festivals combine ancient Baltic culture with various forms of alternative

music. And while *"Kilkim Žaibu"focuses* on metal culture, *"Mėnuo Juodaragis"* emphasizes Baltic heritage and culture. Both festivals are attended mostly by the same people, due to small numbers of members of metal culture in Lithuania, but they differ in the "cultural level". While in *"Kilkim Žaibu"* people show their vitality and the cultural side of resistance and partying, during *"Mėnuo Juodaragis"* same people attend lectures and craft lessons and also show respect to the heritage of their ancestors. Here I am going investigate these festivals a bit further.

4.5.1 *"Kilkim Žaibu" – „Kriskim plūgu"* "Pagan metal warriors"

As mentioned above, *"Kilkim Žaibu"* is a festival dedicated to "Pagan" and "black" metal music. It is being organized for 11th time this year. So for ten years festival was held in the grange called *"Plūgo broliai"* near Joniškis. The saying used in the title of this section is widely used by "metalheads". It means "ride the lightning – hit ground as a plough" and refers to the title of the festival and the title of the grange. The main purpose of the festival is to unite "Pagan metalheads" of Lithuania and show wide variety of bands and arts. Festival unites folk music, metal and shows of warrior clubs under the banner of Pagan identity.

Festival goes on for two days in the middle of June. Its program consists of two big concerts: one dedicated to "black" metal bands and the other to "Pagan" and "folk" metal bands; the fair of ancient crafts and the show of warrior clubs. Also, there is lot of free time, which is dedicated to communication and beer drinking.

In fact, it can be noted, that metal culture becomes a tribe of some sort in the conditions of the festival. Because all the fans and bands live side by side in the tents, share the same fires, food and drinks. Being neighbors in the camping become a reason to meet and make friendships by the same fire and shared drinks. Actually, this kind of festivals practically always is inseparable from beer drinking tradition.

4.5.2. *"Mėnuo Juodaragis"*

"Mėnuo Juodaragis"[24] *("MJR")* is a festival dedicated to Baltic culture. This festival unites music and crafts with lectures and arts. There is bigger variety of people than in only metal festivals: you can find members of various subcultures, religious Pagans and also people who are

[24] See Appendix No. 5.

interested in ethnic culture and Baltic heritage. Furthermore, this festival often has visitors from other countries, for whom it become the first opportunity to knowing Baltic culture.

As noted by M. Strmiska "the annual August festival of *"Mėnuo Juodaragis"* brings together Baltic Pagans, artists and musicians raging from traditional Lithuanian folksingers to heavy-metal rockers and performers of electronic and trance music. […] The Moon of Black Horn brings large crowds of Pagan revelers from Lithuania and other European countries out to open countryside for music, dancing and feasting around roaring fires" (Strmiska, 2005: 40).

Context of the festival is formed by selected theme (it was *"Aitvaras"* in 2008 and "Horses" in 2009) and program is created to show wide variety of Baltic arts, crafts, music and lectures. Territory of festival is planned according to the program. Three or four stages are built for concerts; little sheds are built for the "Yard of crafts" also, huge tent for lectures and movies is raised, even a field for sports is made. So there is no time to sit and rest in *"MJR"*.

Festival is opened by rites to Pagan gods, often held by members of *"Romuva"*. Offerings to *Gabija, Žemyna* and *Prekūnas* are burned in sacred fire under an oak tree. Salt, bread or grain and beer offerings are accompanied by ritual folk songs and music of *kanklės*.

In "Yard of crafts" various craftsmen are demonstrating their crafts, telling about them and even giving lessons. Visitors can learn how to weave traditional belts, make statues from straws, make pottery, and work with brass and other metals. Also, visitors can try out archery and sword fighting. Furthermore, herbalists can tell about various healing herbal teas and natural beauty products.

It became a tradition for warrior clubs to create camps near "yard of crafts". Warriors demonstrate war equipment: shields, armor and weapons and the techniques used by ancient warriors. Also, they show the art of smithery and let everyone to get a picture how ancient warrior camps might have looked like.

In the sports field people can try out traditional Baltic sport games, like *"ripka"* for example. Grass roller *(ripka)* is a unique national game, which requires significant body strength, speed and agility. In early days grass roller was played one village against another, currently it is played by two opposing teams. The game consists of two teams of seven players in each. Every player has a 1.5 meter long stick with a curved end. The aim of the game is to hit a birch disk through the opponents defended back line, while defending your own.

This festival also has musical component. Bands from all over the world are invited to the festival. The only demand for their musical style is that they have to be connected to folk scene somehow. So, even concerts show interesting mix of various musical styles from metal to techno to

ambient and so on. But the different bands are united under the idea of preserving folk music and ideas, by the idea of keeping the "old culture alive".

Thus *"MJR"* incorporates a wide variety of activities and exhibitions dedicated to exploration and preservation of Baltic culture. This festival show synthesis of all three forms of Paganism: religion, music and war. This is what makes this festival unique.

Actually there are few more similar festivals in Lithuania, but they are more dedicated to the crafts and warfare: like *"Gyvosios archeologijos dienos"* in the old capital Kernavė, "*Viduramžių šventė"* in Trakai*, "Apuolė 854"* near Klaipėda in historical site of old castle that was attacked by Vikings in 854 AD. Still, these festivals are not as wide as *"MJR".*

V. "RELIGIOUS NEO PAGANISM":

INTRODUCING "DEVYNIARAGIO ROMUVA" COMMUNITY

Religious community of *"Devyniaragio Romuva"* was created as a brake of from *"Romuva"* movement. It unites young people (mostly students) who are fond to Lithuanian Pagan religion, history, philosophy. Members of *"Devyniaragis"* read lectures about Baltic history, religion and culture; celebrate Pagan and national festivals; learn ancient crafts and songs; participate in concerts. As members themselves noted, *"Devyniaragis"* consists mostly of members of metal culture, so they attend metal festivals and concerts.

In the beginning, it must be noted, that the first contact with this community was during the celebration of *Rasos* in Kernavė in 2008. Communication with this group continued in summer of 2009 when a section of *"Devyniaragis"* was established in Kaunas. Fieldwork within this group consists basically from public and private rites, various Pagan and "metalhead" festivals and private parties.

In this chapter community of *"Devyniaragis"* will be explored as an expression of religious Paganism. The worldviews, mythology, pantheon, rituals and festivals will be discussed.

The religious community of *"Devyniaragio Romuva"* was founded in 2007 in Klaipėda. The title of the community means "nine horned", that is the symbol taken from Christmas folklore. Nine horned deer symbolizes the returning sun and embody the unity of three worlds (heaven, earth and underworld). *Romuva* is the title of legendary Baltic temple, that was somewhere in the lands of Prussia. That is considered to be the center of Baltic religion. *Romuva* is mentioned in the works of crusaders and Russian chronicles.

5.1 Worldviews

The main worldview elements of members of *"Devyniaragis"* are "confession of Baltic faith and of the values it dictates: nationalism, harmony, belief in gods, diligence, love for nature, understanding of the divinity of the world, pride and dignity."[25]

The importance of some aspects of worldview is emphasized. It helps to construct and express Pagan identity. Language is important for members of *"Devyniaragis",* because speaking the language of one's ancestors is important in maintaining ties to past of the country and with

[25] From interview with Miglė, leader of „Devyniaragis" in Vilnius.

religion of one's forefathers. Importance of Lithuanian language is not only emphasized when speaking it, but also in various internet forums and chats of the group.

Other important part is folklore material. Employment of various folklore materials in Pagan rituals is treated as the source of Pagan faith. Just like members of *"Romuva"*, members of *"Devyniaragis"* believe that the old Pagan religion is encoded in traditional folklore.

The worldview of members of *"Devyniaragis"* is similar to that of *"Romuva"*. They too "continue traditions of the native ancient Baltic faith. It aims at the unison and harmony with the gods and goddesses, the nature and the people, exalts the sanctity of the nature as the most obvious manifestation of divinity, and nurtures the Baltic traditional moral way of life" (Strmiska, 2005: 251).

5.1.1 Veneration of nature and harmony

As already mentioned, sacredness of nature is also one of the most important elements of worldview. Because of that all rituals are performed in nature, usually in known sacred places: in the forests, under the oak trees or on the mounds. So in this section, elements of worldview that express veneration of nature will be explored.

Ecology is mentioned as very important part of Pagan identity. That doesn't mean that all Pagans are also members of the "green" movement, but they tend to look at the nature as their own home, their goddess. So they always try to pick their trash and those of their neighbors during festivals and in everyday life. Also, they join various movements toward animal rights and become vegetarians, because they think that in this way they are preserving the "body of mother nature".

Harmony between the person and the nature is very important. Harmony *(darna)* according to members of *"Devyniaragis"* is created not only with the nature and the world of living, but also with the world of dead. The respect of ancestors is extremely visible during the rituals, when dead members of family, community and ancestors in general are remembered and honored with offerings.

5.1.2 Nationalism

Like all Pagan recontructionists members of *"Devyniaragis"* have strong feelings of nationalism. This is not only expressed in following the traditions, but also in more radical ways. Some members join various youth groups like "The Union of Lithuanian Nationalistic Youth" *(LTJS).* This organization unites various people who are concerned with the national politics of the Republic of Lithuania. "This organization is dedicated to preserve Lithuania the way it was for centuries. The cherishing of Lithuanian culture, respect to history and ancestors, patriotism and love for motherland is the way for the members of this organization. This organization speaks against globalization, politics of denationalization, uncontrolled migration, scorn to the family values, the rejection of independence and autonomy in the name of material well-being, idealization of communism."[26] Members of this organization say that Lithuania belongs for the children of Lithuania. *"LTJS"* organizes various commemorations to the personalities in Lithuanian history (which they call forgotten heroes) and historical moments. Members also organize summer camps, attend the festivals organized by similar organizations (including Pagans), visit culturally important places, and attend in cleaning actions and so on.

This nationalistic worldview is widely spread and among members of *"Devyniaragis",* actually many members participate in both organizations. Sometimes the activities and worldviews of the organizations are so tightly woven together that it is hard to separate them.

Furthermore, despite the fact that some ideas (preservation of cultural heritage for example) are positive, some of the worldview elements tend to transform into the radical nationalism. In this way seeds of xenophobia, homophobia and racism spread and influence the view of the world. Thus influencing political actions against events tied to these sectors. For example some members of *"Devyniaragis"* organized a protest action against the march of homosexuals in Vilnius, claiming that homosexuals are destroying traditional family values and demonstrate inappropriate behavior.

It is not uncommon for Pagan community to be associated with nationalism (or even Nazism). "Rosenberg and others in the Nazi Party also attempted to foster a distinctly Nazified version of German Paganism as an ideological support for the Third Reich. In this way, too Nazism has cast a shadow over modern Paganism, with the result that even Pagans who proclaim their total rejection of Nazi ideology and interpretations of ancient mythology are still sometimes tarred with the brush of Nazism" (Strrmiska, 2005: 26). It can't be said that all members of *"Devyniaragis"*

[26] Translated from http://www.tautosjaunimas.lt/page.php?7 accesed on 28th of April, 2010.

follow the values explained before, but it influences their understanding of traditional Lithuanian culture and religion as well.

5.1.3 Sobriety

Other interesting tendency between the members of *"Devyniaragis"* is a pledge for sobriety. Some members joined the *"Valančiaus legionas"* and pledge do not use any alcohol and to spread the idea of sobriety.

The interesting part is the personality of Motiejus Valančius. He was a Christian bishop who started the *"Blavybės sąjūdį"* (movement of sobriety) in 1858. The followers of his ideas pledged do not drink alcohol themselves, since it was a big problem in Lithuania of that time. Historically this movement was very important since it inspired rebellions against czarist Russia. But still the ideas of M. Valančius were based in Christian worldview.

The goal of movement of sobriety was to break the habit of drinking strong drinks. Sobriety wasn't understood as complete abstinence: even pledged members could drink beer, mead and wine with a sense of measure. Drinking was serious problem in 19th century, because noblemen, from the surplus of grain and potatoes, made vodka and tried to sell it at any cost also they gave it to their bondmen. Also, the owners of taverns had a good profit from this habit. The excessive drinking was widespread and hurt the economy. Those were the reasons why the movement of sobriety was welcomed. Despite the fact that this movement was persecuted by czarist government and finally forbidden in 1864 it not only encouraged people to refuse drinking, but also made foundations for national consciousness.

As for the movement of sobriety now, in which some members of *"Devyniaragis"* participate, it stimulates the members of it to refuse any kind of alcohol. According to them, first step is to denounce alcohol themselves, second – to influence your friends of denouncing it and later the sobriety of whole society is possible.

Despite the honorable goal, the *"Valančiaus legionas"* has some negative points. Firstly, the ideology of the order distorts the original ideology of sobriety movement, by refusing any kind of alcohol. Secondly, the members of this order refuse the place of alcohol in the Lithuanian traditional culture, leading to the disagreement between members of Pagan community. Members of this order are trying to push alcohol (beer and mead) drinking tradition from the Pagan rituals.

5.2 Mythology and rituals

As every religious community, *"Devyniaragis"* also have its own rituals, mythology and pantheon. Members of *"Devyniaragis"* try to reconstruct ancient Baltic religion and apply it to modern humans. The sources for this reconstruction are folklore (songs, tales, myths, and legends), historical sources, material culture and works of scholars in the field of mythology and ethnology and, to some extent, invention and reinvention of traditions.

In this section I am going to describe pantheon of Lithuanian Pagans, their rituals and festivals of modern Pagans.

5.2.1 Mythology

When speaking of Baltic mythology, firstly it must be noted that the sources for its exploration and reconstruction are very slender. The first scholar who tried to describe ancient Balts is Maria Gimbutas who published the book called *"The Balts"* in 1963, "it provides considerable information about pre-Christian Baltic history, their culture and religion" (Trinkūnas, 1999: 9). Other significant work was done by Norbertas Vėlius who compiled and published series of books called *"Sources of Baltic Religion and Mythology"*, the first volume appeared in 1996. The publishing of this series continued and after the death of N. Vėlius. The series consists of six volumes that encompass source material from the earliest times to the end of 15th century. Professor A. J. Greimas applied semiotic techniques in the interpretation of Baltic mythological source material. A key study of this area is his book called *"Of Gods and Men"* (1990). Author emphasizes the importance of studies in the field of Baltic mythology as the important part of understanding Indo-European Pagan religions. Other important scholar of this field is Gintaras Beresnevičius who in 1995 wrote a book titled *"Baltų religinės reformos"*. In this book author shows dynamic nature of Baltic religious system. He shows that under influence of internal and external factors the system evolved and changed, that this change was ongoing and was terminated only with the introduction of Christianity. G. Beresnevičius also wrote other important books on Baltic mythology: *"Dausos: pomirtinio gyvenimo samprata senojoje lietuvių pasaulėžiūroje"* (1990), *"Kosmosas ir šventvietės lietuvių ir prūsų religijose"* (1998), *„Eglė žalčių karalienė ir lietuvių teogoninis mitas: religinė istorinė studija*" (2003) and others.

Members of modern Pagan communities seek knowledge in the works of scholars. They try to recreate Baltic mythology using scientific studies and folklore. The main characteristic of this mythology is veneration of nature. Sanctity of **forests** and **trees** is mentioned throughout the

sources of ancient Baltic religion. “Oak, linden, birch, maple, pine and spruce were prominent among sacred trees. Particularly the old, mighty trees were believed to posses strong healing powers. They were untouchable; none dared to cut them down” (Gimbutas, 1982. In Trinkūnas, 1999: 34). As their ancestors Pagans now also believe in sanctity of the trees, especially oaks. Oaks are the symbol of strength for them; they also represent the vitality and power of ancestors. The ideal place for sacred altar is under old oak and also, oak is the symbol of major god *Perkūnas.*

Other important part of modern Pagan’s mythology has **fire**. Sacred fire in the altar is the mean to communicate with gods and to send them offerings. Fire in Baltic mythology is cleansing, but also destructive. Baltic people were called worshipers of fire in the historical sources. “Fire was sacred and eternal. Tribes had official sanctuaries on the high hills and on the riverbanks where a fire was maintained, guarded by priests, and in each house was the sacred heart in which fire was never extinguished. […] Fire was purifying element and the symbol of happiness” (Gimbutas, 1982. In Trinkūnas, 1999: 46). For modern Pagans fire is also sacred, during the rituals fire is used to give offerings to the gods. Members of Pagan communities have to swear to the fire in order to become initiated.

Bodies of **water** also are important part of Pagan mythology. Water is cleansing, it wash away not only physical bodies, but also the souls. Ritual washing of hands and face is used before entering sacred rites. Water in ancient Baltic mythology, as in most European traditions, was considered to have purifying, healing and fertilizing properties. Ritual bathing was usual during summer festivals in order to be beautiful, healthy and fertile. Until now the tradition of washing with the morning dew in the morning of summer solstices *(Rasos)* is quite common in Lithuania. It is believed that this dew gives beauty and health.

Earth is considered the mother of all. All life comes from it. “Offerings to the power of the earth – ale, bread, grains, herbs or a sheath of rye – were interred, laid in front of stones, attached to the trees or thrown into the sea, rivers, lakes and springs” (Gimbutas, 1982. In Trinkūnas, 1999: 32). The beer spilling ritual was already discussed in the previous chapters, but Pagans today often honor earth by offerings of food. Also, many Pagans join various organizations that are trying to preserve earth’s ecology.

The earth’s impulse for giving birth was matched by the dynamism of the **sky** and the male element in the nature. The animation of the heavenly bodies is broadly significant in Lithuanian folklore where the Sun, the Moon and the Stars are considered to be living entities (In folk songs Sun usually is called mother, Moon – father and Stars – sisters). Sun is often summoned

during rituals. Also, many Pagans greet the rising Sun in the morning. Heavenly bodies are worshiped for their capability to give light, warmth and life.

5.2.2 Pantheon

Baltic pantheon is hard to recreate, because of the lack of sources, but modern Pagan communities have some major gods and goddesses that they worship. These gods and goddesses will be described in this section. It must be noted, that modern Pagans have different concept of gods: some think they are entities and others that they are energies. Despite that, deities are called upon using their names and their functions.

There are three major deities worshiped by members of *"Devyniaragis"*. They are *Žemyna* (goddess of the Earth), *Gabija* (goddess of the fire) and *Perkūnas* (god of thunder)[27]. These gods are considered major because of the fact that offerings for them are given most often. But, there also are other deities that are worshiped less, but still remembered.

Žemyna – the Lithuanian goddess of earth is the creator of human, animal and plant life: all life arises from her and returns to her. As the mother of all, *Žemyna* not only gives birth to humans and feeds them, but also bolsters the ability to create the new life. This goddess also imparts health and prosperity. Anthropomorphic image of this goddess never emerged (or was lost) in course of history, but Pagans now create the image of earth goddess by combining various other earth goddesses (like Demeter, Ceres, Inana or others). There is a statue of goddess near the ethnographic sky observatory in Kulionys. Offerings for *Žemyna* consist of various products made from plants (bread) or plants (flowers, grain).

Gabija. The worship of fire is of ancient origin. Fire protected people from various beasts, darkness and cold. The cult of fire goddess *Gabija*, according to M. Gimbutas, with its prehistoric roots survived to the present day. "She evolved trough ornitomorphic (swallow), zoomorphic (the cat) and anthropomorphic (a woman clothed in red, sometimes winged) portrayals" (Tinkūnas, 1999: 85) Also, M. Gimbutas notes that cult of fire goddess used to be female only. Also, it must be noted, that after Christianization of Lithuania Baltic goddess *Gabija* was renamed Saint Agate and still worshiped in the Pagan tradition. *Gabija* is considered a goddess of calm, tamed fire. Ancient Lithuanians used to perform a ritual that supposedly put *Gabija* "to bed". This goddess had to be looked after, because if she is angered she would "go for a walk" in the process burning down the property of people who despised her. Traditionally *Gabija* was fed with salt and

[27] See appendix no. 4

various food offerings. The importance of fire in Lithuanian tradition can be viewed in the example of surviving traditions, for example during wedding ceremony parents of newlyweds light a fire called "family fireplace" and the burning of it means that the new family has emerged and also, it is a wish to prosperity. Pagans today always remember *Gabija* in their rituals. In the beginning of the ritual, the fire is lit (most likely by female), also the offering of salt to *Gabija* is made.

Perkūnas was the major god of ancient Baltic religion (like Greek Zeus, Roman Jupiter or Norse Thor). *Perkūnas* is the god of thunder and controlled weather. Also, warriors called for him in battle. This god was the protector of the righteous and punisher of evil ones. Oak trees are considered to be trees of *Perkūnas*. In the temples eternal flames, from the oak wood, was burned in his honor. The trees and stones hit by lightning were considered as marked by this god and having protective and healing powers. "*Perkūnas* protects the order of the world. He pursues the forces of evil and instigators of chaos, who shatter harmony" (Trinkūnas, 1999: 70). The symbols of *Perkūnas* are two-headed axe that symbolize his destructive and creative power and oak. God of Thunder is portrayed driving a carriage pulled by a black goat called *"Perkūno oželis"*. Another symbol of *Perkūnas* is the white horse. In connection to the ancestors modern Pagans honor this god. Offerings for *Perkūnas* are usually made by men and the products offered are beer or kvass. Modern Pagans always include this god in their rituals and consider him to be the major god.

These three gods are most common in the rituals of *"Romuva"* and *"Devyniaragis",* but other gods are not forgotten. Gods like *Velnias* (god of underworld, crafts, trading and hunting) and *Rūgutis (Ragutis)* (god of the fermented products, especially beer); goddesses like *Austėja* (protector of bees and women, goddess of honey), *Laima* (goddess of fate), *Ragana* (possibly goddess of magic, destructive and regenerating forces), *Medeina* (goddess of the forest and animals), *Milda* (goddess of love) and mythical creatures like *kaukas, aitvaras, laumė* and others are also mentioned.

5.2.3 Rituals

Rituals are the most visible expression of Pagan identity. "Modern Pagan rituals can be divided into those conducted in public and those performed in private. The public rituals are generally linked with the annual cycle of seasons, that is, they are calendar rites" (Strmiska, 2005:38). Annual rituals of *"Devyniaragis"* are practically the same as rituals of bigger community

"Romuva" and also, it is similar to other European Pagan festivals. Furthermore, private rituals are not common between Lithuanian Pagans.

In this chapter I am going to describe the structure of *"Devyniaragis"* rituals and talk about symbolic values given to certain things and deities.

5.2.3.1 Performing a ritual

Performance of the ritual gives an opportunity to create and unite community. Pagan rituals are performed during calendar festivals or on special occasions when it is needed. For members of *"Devyniaragis",* as any other religious community, a ritual is a way of expressing their Pagan identity and a mean to connect with the gods and with other members.[28]

In this chapter I am going to describe a ritual performed during the celebration of *Užgavėnės* on 16th of February 2010. I have chosen this rite because, in my opinion, it was the most expressive.

Ritual took place by the altar in the conjunction of Neris and Nemunas, near Kaunas castle. Members of *"Devyniaragis"* in Kaunas often use this altar for its symbolic value (there is a legend that near this place real altar to goddess of love once stood) and also for practical reasons, because it is in the center of Kaunas and is easily reachable for every member.

The ritual begins with the cleansing of the altar and its surroundings from heavy snow and the preparation of wood in it. Offerings of salt, bread, pancakes (traditional during *Užgavėnės*) and homemade kvass are aligned near the altar and participants of the ritual form a circle around it.

Wood is lit by the leader of Kaunas *"Devyniaragis"* branch Eglė and she also gives an introductory speech about the meaning and celebration of *Užgavėnės*, about end of winter and the welcoming of spring. When a song titled *"Jovaras"* is sang:

„Šaly kelio Jovaras stovėjo,
Slaunasai žolyne rugeli.
Iš pašaknų skambantys kankleliai,
Per vidurį dūzgiančios bitelės,
Viršūnėlėj sakalo vaikeliai,
Ir atjoja brolelių pulkelis,
Prašom sustot, jaunieji broleliai,
Pažiūrėkit sakalo vaikelių,
Paklausykit dūzgiančių bitelių,
Paklausykit skambančių kanklelių,
Dėl tėvelio skambantys kankleliai,
Dėl močiutės dūzgiančios bitelės,
Dėl brolelio sakalo vaikeliai"

"Sycamore stood by the side of the road,
Oh glorious plant of rye.
From below the roots, the ringing kanklės,
In the middle the buzzing bees,
At the summit the falcons children,
A group of brothers rides by,
Please stop, young brothers,
Behold the falcon's children,
Listen to the buzzing bees,
Listen to the ringing of kanklės,
The kanklės rings for our dear father,
The bees they buzz for our dear mother
The falcons children foe our brother"

[28] See Appendix No. 6.

According to informants and folklorists this song represents the Baltic view of the structure of the world. "According to Lithuanian myth, the cosmos is supported by the World Tree. The upper reaches of this great tree touch the heavenly realm *[dausos]* of the deities. Birds dwell in the branches; humans and all of the earth's other creatures dwell at the base; and in the underworld touched by roots dwell snakes, reptiles and other creatures, as well as the dead" (Strmiska, 2005: 254). The notion of the World Tree is visible in other mythological traditions as well (for example Norse mythology) and Lithuanian view of cosmos only slightly differs from other Pagan traditions.

Gabija is always first deity to honored in Lithuanian Pagan rituals, since her sacred fire is the mediator between the world of humans and the realm of gods. In this ritual, as in most of them, the offering to *Gabija* is presented by a female member of *"Devyniaragis"* community. In fact, it must be noted, that the females are usually honor goddesses and male honor gods. *Gabija* is offered salt and called upon using words from folk song *"Dega ugnelė": "Gabija, ugnele, sugaubta guobėki, uždegta žibėki"* (*Gabija*, the fire, covered you rest, when lit – shine) and also, this goddess is asked to keep community warm, to protect them. After this, the wooden bowl with salt is sent around the circle, that every person could offer some salt to the goddess and ask or whish something in return. While a bowl travels a circle the song to *Gabija* is sang:

„Dega Ugnelė tūta tūta	"The fire is burning tūta tūta
Dega Gabija tūta tūta	Gabija is burning
Piliakalnely tūta tūta	On the mound
Aukštajam kalnely tūta tūta	In the high mountain
Po užuolaliu tūta tūta	Under the oak tree
Gabija Ugnela tūta tūta	Gabija the fire
Užkurta žibėkie tūta tūta	When you are lit - shine
Užgobta gobėkie tūta tūta	When you are covered stay still
Žeme Žemynėla, tūta tūta	Earth Žemynėle (allusion to earth goddess)
Mes tavo vaikeliai tūta tūta	We are your children
Saula Motinėla tūta tūta	Sun our mother
Mes tavo dukrelės tūta tūta	We are your daughters
Mėnuo tėveli tūta tūta	Moon our father
Mes tavo sūneliai tūta tūta	We are your sons
Žvaigždės sesiulės tūta tūta	Stars our sisters
Mes jūsų sesiulės tūta tūta	We are your sisters
Gabija Ugnela tūta tūta	Gabija, the fire
Užkurta žibėkie tūta tūta	When you are lit shine
Užgobta gobėkie tūta tūta	When you are covered stay still
Stiprinki mumis tūta tūta	Strengthen us
Sujunki mumis tūta tūta	Unite us
Žeme Žemynėla tūta tūta	Earth Žemynėle
Labinki mumis tūta tūta	Greet us
Laima lėmėjėla tūta tūta	Laima the arbiter
Laiminki mumis tūta tūta"	Bless us"

The offering to Sun follows. Usually Sun is honored by offerings of amber, but in this case ritual food of *Užgavėnė*s, pancakes takes its place. Lithuanians believed that round and yellow

pancakes symbolize the returning Sun. During this holyday pancakes are eaten throughout Lithuania until the present times. Sun is asked to return and warm the earth, to bring spring and to wake up the earth goddess.

The next offering is to earth goddess *Žemyna*. In this ritual, *Žemyna* is honored by two members of *"Devyniaragis"* community – Rokas and Karina. Offerings for earth goddess often are made by male and female and that might symbolize fertility of mother earth herself. "This is mostly visible in the spring rites, when earth needs to wake up from her slumber and start growing plants"[29]. *Žemyna* is offered bread, made from the grain that was harvested from her body, but since homemade bread is quite hard to make, Pagans usually buy it. Despite that, bread offered to earth goddess in taste and baking process is quite similar to homemade. Earth goddess is asked to wake up and comeback with her full force. Also, it became a tradition in the rituals of *"Devyniaragis"* to use a prayer to *Žemyna:*

"Deive Žemyna, išgirski mano maldą. Mano Deive, Tu esi mano, ir mano Brolių ir Seserų Motina. Tu esi Motina viso, kas gyva mūsų Šventoje Žemėje. Nuo mažiausios gėlytes, iki tauriausiu miško žvėrių - visi mes esame Tavo vaikai. Nuo pamirštų laiku mano kraujyje teka Tavo gyvasties energija. Aš iš Tavęs gimiau, Tavo galia augau, Myliu, kariausiu, gyvensiu, mirsiu, ir vėl i Tave sugrįšiu. Tu man davei gyvenimą. Tu man liepei klestėti, ir visa ką turiu ir kuo esu - skirta Tavo Šventam Vardui. Be Tavęs nebūtų nieko, o Tavyje turiu daugiau, nei man užtenka. Tad mano Motina-Deive Žemyna, prašau, priimki šią kuklia mūsų auką, kaip mūsų Meilės ir nesibaigiančio dėkingumo simboli skirta Tau. Aš neprašau nieko, tik mano Deive, klestėki amžinai! Lenkiuosi Tavo valiai (bow). Šlovė Žemynai! (duonos kąsnis i liepsna). Palaima Tavo pasekėjams (duonos kąsnis aukotojui)." (Author is Rokas. Member of "Devyniaragis")

(Goddess Žemyna, hear my prayer. My goddess, you are my mother and the mother of my brothers and sister. You are the mother of all that is alive in this holly land. From the smallest flower to the noble beasts of the forest – we all are your children. From the forgotten times your life energy flows in our blood. From you I was born, with your power I grew up, love you, I will fight for you, I will die and come back to you. You gave me my life. You told me to prosper and everything I have is committed to your sacred name. Without you there would be nothing, in you I have everything that I needed and more. So my mother – goddess Žemyna I ask you to accept this humble our offering as a token of our endless love and appreciation. I am not asking anything, just that you, my goddess, would prosper forever! I bow to thy will. Glory to Žemyna! (A piece of bread is put into the flame). Blessings to your followers! (The person takes a bite).) Translated by the author of this work.

After the prayer a loaf of bread is sent around the circle. All participants brakes off a piece of bread for them to eat and also puts a piece into the sacred fire as an offering to the goddess. Sharing food during Pagan rituals is a common practice among Pagans. As one of "*Romuva"* priests *(vaidila)* Jonas Vaiškūnas said: "Eating from the same loaf, drinking from the same horn or bailer and eating food from the same pot is a way of making a community. This action makes everyone equal and let everyone feel closer to each other." [30] The travel of the bread around the circle is followed by a song to goddess *Žemyna "Žemynėle Žiedkelėle":*

[29] From Interview with a member of „Devyniaragis"
[30] From conversation with Jonas Vaiškūnas in celebration of Jorė in Molėtai 2009

„Žemyna mieloji, Žemele juodoji	„Žemyna, our dearest, the black earth
Žemynėle žiedkelėle	Žemynėle the blossom raiser
Tu mūsų motule, visų meilingoji	You are our mother, the loveliest of all
Žemynėle žiedkelėle	Žemynėle the blossom raiser
Palabinki mumi ir skalsinki mumi	Greet us and profuse us
Žemyna mieloji, Žemele juodoji	Žemyna, our dearest, the black earth
Gražiai mus augini, gražiai mus nešioji	You raise us beautifully and carry us beautifully
Palabinki mumi ir skalsinki mumi	Greet us and profuse us
Margaisiais žiedeliais ir vaisiais saldžiaisiais	With mottled blossoms and sweet fruits
Palabinki mumi ir skalsinki mumi“	Greet us and profuse us”

Following part of the ritual is dedicated to *Perkūnas* the god of thunder and the major god of the Baltic religion. Offerings to this god are usually made by older male members of Pagan community, but since *“Devyniaragis”* is youth organization the oldest members are around 25 years old. For the offerings, god of thunder “prefers” alcoholic drinks like beer or mead and also kvass (that is very light alcoholic drink made by fermenting bread, thyme or other products). In this case, the offering to *Perkūnas* was homemade thyme kvass that tasted similar to beer. Kvass is poured to the horn or wooden bailer and offered to the god by pouring it on the ground or into the fire. The offering is also usually begins with the prayer:

„Didysie mūsų, Perkūne mūsų, Tebūnie Tavo galybė saugo tuos dorus karius, veidu stojančius, prieš mūsų Tautos priešus. Apgink mus nuo pikto, kad galėtume kariauti, Tavo Vardan.“ (Author is Rokas, member of „Devyniaragis“).

(„Oh, the great one, our mighty Perkūnas. Let thy strength protect the honest soldiers that face enemies of our nation. Defend us from all the evil, so that we could stand and fight in your name.”)

The prayer is followed by spilling some kvass on the ground and to the fire and finally taking a sip. Afterwards horn is sent to other participants and is passed form hand to hand by bowing to the neighbor and whishing him/her something. While the horn travels, the song to honor *Perkūnas* is sung:

„Didysie mūsų,Dievaitie mūsų,	Our great one, our god,
Didysie mūsų Perkūne mūsų	Our great one, our Perkūnas
Savo stiprybe savo galybe	With thy strength, with thy might
Sujunki mumis stiprinki mumis	Unite us strengthen us
Didysie mūsų Dievaitie mūsų,	Our great one, our god,
Didysie mūsų Perkūne mūsų	Our great one, our Perkūnas
Ąžuolo jėgom Ąžuolo galiom	With strength of an oak, with power of the oak
Sujunki mumis stiprinki mumis	Unite us strengthen us
Didysie mūsų Dievaitie mūsų,	Our great one, our god,
Didysie mūsų Perkūne mūsų	Our great one, our Perkūnas
Ugnies šviesybe	With light of fire
Sujunki mumis stiprinki mumis“	Unite us strengthen us”

Despite the fact that authenticity of this song is largely disputed by folklorists and ethnologists, the symbolic value of this song is clear. Pagans summon their major god and ask him to give them strength, protection and to unite community.

After the food and drink is finished the final phase of the ritual begins. Since it was the celebration of *Užgavėnės* the ritual burning of winter is traditional. The personification of winter is called *Morė (Mara)*. She is made from straws and clothed in woman's clothes. Traditionally, the burning of *Morė* is the culmination of this festival. But firstly, straw doll have to be tortured, so the makers of the doll say that she was made a week ago and until when was closed in the trunk of a car. Before the ritual she was put into a sack and brought to the ritual site upside-down. After that *Morė* is carried around the circle so that every participant could punch her. *Morė* is burned after that while chanting: *"Žiema žiema, bėk iš kiemo"* that translates as "winter, winter run away from our yard". While the doll is burning participants throw snow at each other, that is also an adaptation of the ancient tradition to pour water on each other, and it suppose to make spring come faster.

5.3 Festivals: the wheel of the year

"Holidays are an integral part of all religious systems. In the traditional Baltic religion holidays reflect the cycles of Nature, some are tied to dominant farming activities; others use changes of seasons to honor ancestors. Even the traditional non-seasonal family holidays, that is, Christianizing celebrations, wedding feasts and funeral wakes – have also preserved some ancient rituals and customs" (Trinkūnas,1999: 107).

The similar duration of the seasons in the Baltic region influence the distribution of seasonal festivals, also, the stages of human life is also perceived as reflecting the cycle of Nature. It must be said, that celebrations of traditional festivals was oppressed by Christian church, but later the church let some celebrations, because they were rooted too deeply, that is how winter solstice became Christmas and *Kūčios* and summer solstice *Rasos* became the night of St. John.

As all Neo Pagan religious communities *"Devyniaragis"* also celebrates calendar festivals. Since nature is kept sacred, the cycles of it must be celebrated through rituals and ancient customs. The calendar of Lithuanian neo Pagans practically correspond to the calendars of western Pagan traditions, equinoxes and solstices are celebrated as well as beginning of spring and the end of summer.

Lithuanian Neo Pagans view time as a circle or a spiral. "It is a circle, because everything turns around, nature dies in autumn, sleeps though winter, makes rebirth in spring and

flourishes through summer and so does a human – he is born, grows, become an adult, gets old and die and when reborn as a spirit"[31]. A time is considered to go in spiral because every time the wheel turns around everything is similar, but actually not the same. This conception of time differs from the view of Christians, where time is understood as a straight line going from beginning of the world to the end of it.

The main festivals celebrated by *"Devyniaragis"* community are *Pusiaužiemis/Kirmių diena, Užgavėnės, Pavasario lygė, Jorė, Mildos šventė, Rasos, Žolinė, Rudens lygė, Vėlinės, Kūčios ir Kalėdos.*

Pusiažiemis/Kirmių diena (Midwinter/Day of the worms) is celebrated on the 25th of January. It is the celebration of midwinter and also, it is considered the day when worms, grass-snakes and serpents wake up from sleep and goes to the houses. The celebration is dedicated to honor the sacred grass-snakes and also to mark the middle of the winter. This day is celebrated with ritual, similar to described in the previous chapter adding to it the offering of milk to the grass-snakes.

Užgavėnės is celebrated in the end of February, always on Tuesday. Exact date of this festival differs due to the date of Easter. This festivals goal is to banish winter and greet the spring. A.J. Greimas thinks that celebration of *Užgavėnės* before Christianization of Lithuania was tied to the celebration of spring equinox. Lithuanian *Užgavėnės* has a tradition of ancient rituals, during which the shades of dead and deities of nature are encountered. During this celebration, meals are of extreme importance, people have to eat greasy foods (especially pancakes) 12 times a day. Other event on this festival is dragging and burning or drawning of *Morė*, that is the personification of winter. Also, splashing with water, sledding and other activities are done to wake up the nature. Pagans today usually do not dress up (as it was in traditional culture) and the custom of going door to door visiting neighbors and asking for food is fading away. One more important part of this celebration is the fight between spring and winter embodied by *Kanapinis* and *Lašininis*. In this fight slim *Kanapinis* overcomes his opponent, signifying the victory of spring over winter. Similar festival is popular in Slavic countries it is called *"Maslinica Nedelia"* (week of grease) and continues all week before the beginning of lint.

Pavasario lygė (spring equinox) is celebrated on 21st of March. This is the celebration when day and night become equal. The spring is welcomed and the new life of nature is celebrated through rites. In the traditional culture this celebration was marked by a struggle between two

[31] From interview with Miglė

elemental forces: bird versus grass-snake or fire versus water. But in the rituals of contemporary Pagans, this festival is celebrated by lighting fire in the altars and offerings to the Gods of the earth and nature. Celebrations of equinoxes are common in all Pagan religions due to the connection to the nature and heavenly bodies.

Jorė is celebrated during the last weekend of April. It is the celebration of new growth of spring. This is the celebration of the fact that *Perkūnas* planted his seeds in *Žemyna* and that the nature will be reborn very soon. These gods are honored during the rituals. Offerings of kvass and bread or grain are presented to them. Also, the site of ritual is decorated with spring flowers and springing leaves. Participants of celebration are sprinkled with water. Celebration of *Jorė* in recent years is organized by *"Romuva"*, but members of *"Devyniaragis"* participate in it and also help to organize this celebration. The date and festivities of this celebration is similar to Wiccan Beltane. Other similarity is that the initiations to Pagan communities take place during this celebration. It must be said, that despite the minor disagreements many members of *"Devyniaragis"* are initiated to the community of *"Romuva".* According to them, that means not the loyalty to the *"Romuva",* but loyalty to traditions and religion of their ancestors.

Mildos šventė celebrated on the 13th of May is the festival dedicated to the love goddess *Milda*. Despite the fact, that the existence of Lithuanian love goddess *Milda* is doubtable members of *"Devyniaragis"* celebrate this festival, because they like the idea of Lithuanian celebration of day of love replacing Valentine's day brought through globalization process. *Milda* is considered to be a goddess of love, as it is (like Greek Aphrodite, Roman Venus or Nordic Freya). So this day offerings to this goddess are made. And despite the fact that most of the Pagans understand that love goddess was invented by authors during the period of Romanticism, this day is celebrated, just because it is fun.

Rasos (summer solstice) celebrated on the 23rd of June. It is the celebration of the longest day and shortest night. In Lithuania it is also called *Kupolinės*, referring to the collections of healing herbs. According to tradition this is the last day one can collect them and also, herbs are most powerful. The process of herb collection is called *"kupoliavimas".* Also, *Kupolė* is a name of the decorated pole that is put in the middle of the ritual area. Similar decorated poles exist in Slavonic and Wiccan traditions; in both cases they represent fertility and are connected to the rites of engagement and marriage. Word *"rasa"* means dew and the title of the festival is strongly connected to the healing and beautifying powers of dew in the morning after *Rasos* celebration. People went to wash their faces in this dew so that they would be pretty; this tradition is followed until the present day. Another symbol of this festival is wreaths. Maidens make them from various

wild flowers, men puts on wreaths made from oak leaves even houses, doors and gates are decorated with them. According to the tradition in the night candles are lit, attached to the wreaths and cast in the water. Fire is held in upmost importance, fires are lit in various places, young people jump through them so that they will be healthy. Holly fires used to be extinguished and relit again. Fires on the *Rasos* night symbolize the sun. Another tradition during this celebration is the search of blossoming magical fern; the one who manage to complete this impossible task should become very smart and understand the language of animals. Contemporary Pagans, as their ancestors, relate the blossoming fern with the fire of the thunderer – *Perkūnas.* The feasting continues through the night, dishes of cheese, eggs are eaten and the drinks of beer and mead are served. During this festival, the greeting of the rising sun is very important. This celebration was associated with St. John by the Christian church, but the way it is celebrated, not only by Pagans, indicates the strength of traditional heritage.

Žolinė is celebrated in the end of August. This is a celebration dedicated to goddess of the earth *Žemyna*. This festival is connected to the agricultural calendar and marks the harvesting of crops. Offerings to the goddess are presented and she is thanked for plenty of harvest that indicates that the winter will be without famine.

Rudens lygė celebrated on 21st of September and marks the equinox of autumn. This is the a goodbye to the summer, since from this day nights become longer than days and the nature is getting ready for slumber. Once again, gods are honored and thanked for a harvest and other gifts they gave through the summer. Furthermore the date is considered to be "Baltic Unity day".

Vėlinės/Ilgės is the feast dedicated to the remembrance of the dead. It is celebrated on the 2nd of November and actually all November is considered as a time of *vėlės* (spirits of the ancestors). The graves of dead family members are being visited and offerings to them are made. Fire is like a medium, a link between the world of living and the world of the dead. The spirits of the ancestors are not only visited by their graves, but also, a feast is held for them at home. Table is set putting additional dishes for the ancestors and the spirits are fed with offerings of food and drinks. This festival is similar to Wiccan Samhain, when they remember their dead and thank them for everything.

Kūčios ir Kalėdos is the celebration of winter solstice, celebrating the longest night and the shortest day. The celebration of Christmas Eve and Christmas is widespread through all cultures and religions. In Lithuanian tradition *Kūčios* is like a continuing of celebration to *Vėlinės*. Spirits of dead ancestors are remembered and honored by inviting them to the table. The food of

this celebration also have traditional meaning, 12 courses must be put on the table, each for every month of the year. Gods of the earth and home are honored by offerings.

Kūčios is also the considered the time of magic. According to the tradition animals are talking this night. Also, various divinations take place: straws are pulled from under the table cloth to find out how long they live, also there are various divinations related to marriage.

Rituals of *Kalėdos* celebrate the rebirth of the sun. According to folklore, sun is brought back on the hors of nine horned deer. "During the day a special group of wandering *Kalėdotojai* known as *blukininkai* – men and women, young and old – drag a log called a *Blukis* from house to house around the entire town. The *Blukis* symbolizes the old year. They sing, dance, play music and play tricks under way. In the evening, blukininkai gather together to burn the log. In Latvia, this tradition took place on *Kūčios* evening, which the Latvians call *"Bluka vakars"* (Trinkūnas, 1999: 134).

5.4 Group relations

The main difference between *"Devyniaragis"* and *"Romuva"* is based in the construction of community and inner hierarchy. Firstly, it is the difference in age; *"Devyniaragis"* is considered to be a youth organization. The age of the members ranges from 15 to 25 years. Most of the members are students of various universities. The community is united by the love and understanding of traditional Lithuanian culture and ancient Baltic religion.

Second, and biggest, difference is the system of hierarchy. In *"Romuva"* community the hierarchy is clear – *krivis* is the high priest and the leader, *vaidilos* are responsible for lesser tasks, like organizing rituals, celebrations and so on. *Krivis* usually leads all the rituals, while others can only watch them. According to members of *"Devyniaragis", "Romuva"* is becoming similar to Christian church, despite the difference in ideology. In addition to the leadership in rituals, *krivis* and his "inner circle" of *vaidilos* is responsible for the dogmas and ideas of Pagan religion.

While in *"Devyniaragis"* community the status of leader is unclear. Actually, each section of *"Devyniaragis"* (Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda) has their own leader. Moreover, the performance of rituals is considered the duty of all members, so (especially in Kaunas) all members try to perform an offering to their selected god or goddess. Every section of this community is quite autonomous: they have their own view to religion, politics and other things. For example, while members of *"Devyniaragis"* in Vilnius protests against the march of homosexuals or against the

march of veterans of WW2, members of *"Devyniaragis"* in Kaunas indulges to self-education and cleaning of mounds.

The communication between different sections asserts through internet forum, "Skype" chats and also during the weekly meetings. Information is exchanged and events are organized during those meetings.

VI. COMAPRING "PAGAN METAL" AND RELIGIOUS PAGANISM

Despite the fact that both "Pagan metalheads" and "*Devyniaragio Romuva*" (religious paganism) emphasize the importance of history and ancient Pagan religion their approaches to it are quite different. So in this chapter I am going to summarize those differences and similarities.

Firstly, the **conception of Paganism** is quite different in these two cultures. Religious Paganism community emphasizes the importance of Baltic tradition and is trying to reconstruct it as accurately as possible, taking fully reconstructyvist Pagan approach, engaging in various scholar activities and reading studies. "Pagan metalheads" in this case use more eclectic approach. They tend to take some parts from Baltic mythology combining it with mythologies of other cultures; they care less about the authenticity of Paganism, but emphasize the resistance factor and veneration of nature in opposition to modern culture and society.

Second difference is **visual expression**. While religious Pagans try to reconstruct historical clothing of various periods (mostly from the pre-Christian times), "pagan metalheads" are trying to create their own image. Despite the fact that "Pagan metalheads" use parts of traditional or historical costume, they combine it with the "heavy metal" style created by combat boots, leather clothing and "spiky" jewelry. Also, the main difference is that for most "metalheads" this style is an everyday wear, but for religious Pagans, reconstructed clothing is only for festivals. Furthermore, it must be said that it is hard to separate visual expressions, since some members of "*Devyniaragis*" also are "metalheads" and use their image.

"Metalheads" and religious Pagans use similar symbols, but they give slightly different meanings to them. For example reconstructed brass jewelry to religious Pagans represents the power of the ancestors and for "metalheads" they are more like a mean to oppose Christianity. Also, religious Pagans do not use symbols associated with Satanism (inverted cross and pentagram), because it has no symbolic meaning to them, and for the "metalheads" satanic symbols have similar meaning and are used as opposition to Christianity.

Characterizing difference is in **sonic expression**. Religious Pagan community usually uses traditional folk songs and instruments, while "metalheads" use metal music. Also, the themes of the lyrics of songs are slightly different, while folk music used by "*Devyniaragis*" emphasize various cultural and mythological views of the ancestors, metal music relates more to the war themes and glorious past of their culture. But we can't say that the music in its meaning is different. Despite the sonic expression, both folk music and "Pagan metal" are related to the traditional culture and mythology.

Strong difference is visible through few points of **worldview**. While both cultures, in one way or another, are related to nature, they see it quite differently: for members of "*Devyniaragis*" nature is the home of their gods, for "Pagan metalheads" nature is something that is against modernity. Despite different perceptions of nature both groups look at it as something that is very important. Bigger difference, sometimes even arguments, arises from the view towards nationalism. While "Pagan metalheads" just simply celebrate national festivals and have practically apolitical view, members of "*Devyniaragis*" engage in more political activities like various protest actions. What is more, "pagan metalheads", like fans of other metal genres, are quite cosmopolites, they usually do not have problems with nationality, race, sexuality or other similar things, while almost all members of "*Devyniaragis*" support "right wing" politics of nationalism, cultural and racial homogeneity and so on. Other important difference in worldviews of these two groups is usage of alcohol. As mentioned before many members of "*Devyniaragis*" are pledged sobriety and are members of so called "Valančius order", while "pagan metalheads" see light alcoholic drinks like beer and mead as a part of traditional culture, that cannot be ignored.

Difference in **rituals** mostly comes from the fact that "pagan metalheads" rarely engage in religious rites and even if they do, they see it as some kind of "game" and another way to annoy religious society. While religious Pagans see their rituals as "the real thing". They say that through the ritual they communicate with their gods and ancestors. Another difference here is that the rituals of "pagan metalheads" are strongly connected with "beer drinking tradition" of earlier metal culture and now combined with known traditional culture.

Despite all the differences both these groups are strongly connected through their view of **historical past**. Both groups see history and traditional culture as the most important factor influencing their choice of groups. Both groups engage in studying history of their own and other countries, research various mythologies, traditions and folklore. Romanticized view towards ancient past is very common within both groups. Therefore, both groups agree that to them, the most important part of history, so called "golden age" of Lithuania is the period of Grand Duchy of Lithuania. To all of them Grand Dukes of Lithuania like Vytautas, Mindaugas, Treniota and all others are heroes, fallen in unequal battle with stronger force - Christianity. Opposition to Christianity is another thing that binds these groups. They both see Christianity as a destructive force.

CONCLUSIONS

1. There are three **forms of Paganism in Lithuania**: “Religious Paganism”, “Warrior Clubs” and “Pagan Metal”. “Religious Paganism” is represented by religious communities and reflect spiritual field of Baltic tradition. “Warrior Clubs” tend to emphasize ancient warfare and crafts while combining them with nature worshiping. “Pagan Metal” culture combine religious practices and crafts with “metal style” and also have different musical expression (metal music).

2. Main elements of **“metalhead” identity** are music, protest, anti-Christianity, interest in history. It is expressed through style and symbols (Pagan and Satanic). There are three dimensions of expression in metal culture: sonic (music), visual (image and symbols) and verbal (lyrical content, band titles).

3. Metal music has many different genres that differ in musical expression, lyrical content and partly even image. Main themes of lyrics are 1. Gore/horror/porn; 2. Satanism/occultism/anti-Christianity; 3. Sociopolitical commentary; 4. Independence themes; 5. War/apocalypse themes; 6. History, fantasy and Pagan themes.

4. Main accent of “metal costume” is footwear (combat boots). Metal style is formed by leather clothing, long hair, black color, t-shirts with band logos and spiked jewelry. Main symbols used by metal culture are pentagram (simple and inverted), inverted cross, band logos and various pagan symbols. Meanings of symbols mostly reflect opposition to Christianity and mainstream culture. The most important symbol of metal culture is “corna” sign that is used to identify themselves with metal culture, as appreciation to musicians and as greeting gesture.

5. Main points of worldview are: music, protest, negative view towards popular culture, negative view towards religion (Christianity to be more exact) and respect for ancient cultures. All worldview point’s can be summarized into the notion of absolute freedom that is visible in metal culture. “Metalheads” have their own gathering places, behavior during concerts (“headbang”, “pogo”, “stage diving”) and slang that excludes them from mainstream society. View of society to metal culture is quite negative. Conflicts arise with young people from mainstream society.

6. **“Pagan metal”** derived from “black metal” culture in the 90’s. It differs from other metal genres due to the themes of lyrics (portraying romanticized Pagan past and using folk songs), usage of folk instruments (*kanklės, skudučiai*, various pipes, violins, accordions and other), often usage of national languages and stylistic expression (using historical costumes and etc.). “Pagan metal” now unites bands from different musical genres of metal under the Pagan worldview. “Pagan

metal" now is widely spread throughout Scandinavia, Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. Song lyrics themes can be classified into: 1.War songs; 2.Mythology; 3.Traditional culture.

7. Members of "Pagan metal" culture have their own way of using ancient Pagan symbols combining them with attributes of metal cultures style. Parts of the traditional costumes are incorporated into everyday wear. That creates interesting mix of leather and flax, traditional belts and combat boots, metal spikes and brass pendants and etc. This mix of symbols makes members of "Pagan metal" culture different from other members of metal culture and also different from mainstream society.

8. Also, jewelry of "Pagan metalheads" is quite distinctive. They like to wear brass jewelry. Brass is worn as pendants, bracelets and rings, also Pagans like to wear reconstructed historical jewelry (for example collars and warrior bracelets, brooches). Furthermore, "Pagan metalheads" do not refuse jewelry worn by fans of other genres of metal like spiked chokers and bracelets, but they don't have any meaning to them while brass jewelry is understood as having symbolic value. Symbols used by "Pagan metalheads" can be classified into three groups: Lithuanian Pagan symbols (brass grass-snakes, swastikas, amber, and other brass jewelry), foreign Pagan symbols (Thor's hammer, Celtic cross, pentagram) and satanic symbols (inverted cross and inverted pentagram). Moreover, traditional belts, flax clothing is incorporated in everyday wear.

9. Worldview of "Pagan metalheads" is "in the middle" between real neo Pagans and other branches of metal culture. They have strong feelings towards nationalism and ancient religions as neo Pagans and also, they tend to emphasize protest against mainstream culture and religion through their attitudes. Pagan religion is seen as in opposition to Christianity. Patriotism of "metalheads" is expressed through participation in national festivals, but they mostly have apolitical view towards state politics and government.

10. In mythology the emphasis is put on the war aspect of ancient worldview. Still, nature is considered as sacred. Also, nature for "Pagan metalheads" is something in opposition to modern society. Furthermore, most of the "metalheads" say that they do not believe in gods as entities, rather in the romantic idea. Also, "Pagan metalheads" are not tied to one mythological system, just like "eclectic Pagans" they can explore and use any mythology (even the one created by J.R.R. Tolkein) without any moral conflict. There are two rituals that could be described as "Pagan metal" rituals: that is "beer spilling" ritual and "clanging of tumblers.

11. Summer "Pagan metal" festivals include few days of music, ancient crafts, shows of warrior clubs, games and camping in open air. Main festivals of Lithuanian "Pagan metalheads" are "*Kilkim Žaibu"* and *"Mėnuo Juodaragis"*.

12. Religious community of ***"Devyniaragio Romuva"*** was created as a brake of from *"Romuva"* movement. It unites young people (mostly students) who are fond to Lithuanian Pagan religion, history, philosophy. Members of *"Devyniaragis"* read lectures about Baltic history, religion and culture; celebrate Pagan and national festivals; learn ancient crafts and songs; participate in concerts.

13. The main worldview elements of members of *"Devyniaragis"* are "confession of Baltic faith and of the values it dictates: nationalism, harmony, belief in gods, diligence, love for nature, understanding of the divinity of the world, pride and dignity.

14. Sacredness of nature is also one of the most important elements of worldview. Because of that all rituals are performed in nature, usually in known sacred places: in the forests, under the oak trees or on the mounds. Ecology is mentioned as very important part of Pagan identity. That doesn't mean that all Pagans are also members of the "green" movement, but they tend to look at the nature as their own home, their goddess. Harmony between the person and the nature is very important. Harmony *(darna)* according to members of *"Devyniaragis"* is created not only with the nature and the world of living, but also with the world of dead.

15. Like all Pagan recontructionists members of *"Devyniaragis"* have strong feelings of nationalism. This is not only expressed in following the traditions, but also in more radical ways. Despite the fact that some ideas (preservation of cultural heritage for example) are positive, some of the worldview elements tend to transform into the radical nationalism. In this way seeds of xenophobia, homophobia and racism spread and influence the view of the world. Thus influencing political actions against events tied to these sectors.

16. Interesting tendency between the members of *"Devyniaragis"* is a pledge for sobriety. Some members joined the *"Valančiaus legionas"* and pledge do not use any alcohol and to spread the idea of sobriety. Movement of sobriety stimulates the members of it to refuse any kind of alcohol. Despite the honorable goal; the *"Valančiaus legionas"* has some negative points. Firstly, the ideology of the order distorts the original ideology of sobriety movement, by refusing any kind of alcohol. Secondly, the members of this order refuse the place of alcohol in the Lithuanian traditional culture, leading to the disagreement between members of Pagan community. Members of this order are trying to push alcohol (beer and mead) drinking tradition from the Pagan rituals.

17. In mythology of members of *"Devyniaragis"* the most important thing is veneration of nature. Also, sanctity of forests, fire, water, earth and sky (heavenly bodies) is strongly expressed. There are three major deities worshiped by members of *"Devyniaragis"*. They

are *Žemyna* (goddess of the Earth), *Gabija* (goddess of the fire) and *Perkūnas* (god of thunder). Gods like *Velnias* (god of underworld, crafts, trading and hunting) and *Rūgutis (Ragutis)* (god of the fermented products, especially beer); goddesses like *Austėja* (protector of bees and women, goddess of honey), *Laima* (goddess of fate), *Ragana* (possibly goddess of magic, destructive and regenerating forces), *Medeina* (goddess of the forest and animals), *Milda* (goddess of love) and mythical creatures like *kaukas, aitvaras, laumė* and others are also mentioned.

18. Pagan rituals are performed during calendar festivals or on special occasions when it is needed. For members of *"Devyniaragis",* as any other religious community, a ritual is a way of expressing their Pagan identity and a mean to connect with the gods and with other members. Ritual consists mainly from four parts: introduction speech, offering to *Gabija*, offering to *Žemyna* and offering to *Perkūnas*. Sometimes pantheon can vary due to calendar celebration.

19. As all Neo Pagan religious communities *"Devyniaragis"* also celebrates calendar festivals. Since nature is kept sacred, the cycles of it must be celebrated through rituals and ancient customs. The calendar of Lithuanian neo Pagans practically correspond to the calendars of western Pagan traditions, equinoxes and solstices are celebrated as well as beginning of spring and the end of summer. The main festivals celebrated by *"Devyniaragis"* community are *Pusiaužiemis/Kirmių diena, Užgavėnės, Pavasario lygė, Jorė, Mildos šventė, Rasos, Žolinė, Rudens lygė, Vėlinės, Kūčios ir Kalėdos.*

20. Comparing "Pagan metal" culture and religious Pagan community we can see that they strongly differ in conception of Paganism, one use eclectic, others reconstructyvist approach. Also, visual and sonic expressions are different. For both, nature is very important, but religious Pagans see it as their goddess and "Pagan metalheads" emphasize its opposition to modernity. Understanding of patriotism and nationalism differs in these two cultures: religious Pagans tend to accept "right wing" politics, while "Pagan metalheads" only celebrate national festivals and have apolitical views. Other difference is in conception of religious rituals. For "Pagan metalheads" rituals is some kind of "game" while religious Pagans see it as "the real thing".

Still both groups are similar in their view to Christianity as negative and alien thing in Lithuanian culture. Also, romanticized view of history, ancestors and mythology is common for both groups.

21. As for the main question, if "Pagan metal" can be called Pagan I think the answer is yes. That is because this culture has some features common with religious Pagans. It is espetially visible through their view of ancient history and usage of Pagan symbols. But also, the question is can it be called religion? According to data from my fieldwork, I think it can be said that "Pagan

metal" share more with alternative youth cultures than with religious communities. "Pagan metal" culture has more in common with alternative youth cultures, due to the fact that it emphasize the importance of rebelliousness towards mainstream society and almost never take religious rituals seriously. Still, the protest against mainstream to members of this culture comes from the understanding and respecting history and worldviews of ancestors.

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Appendix No.1 "Image"

Metal	"Pagan Metal"	Religious pagan
Pic.1a Pic.1b 2008.04.30, Kaunas, „Džem pub"	Pic.2 2009.06.14, Joniškis „Kilkim Žaibu"	Pic.3 2009.07.04, Kernavė „Gyvosios archeologijos dienos"

Pic.4
2008.04.30, Kaunas, „Džem pub“

Pic.5
2009.06.14, Joniškis „Kilkim Žaibu“

Pic.6
2010.04.23, Kulionys „Joré“

Pic.7
2008.11.29, Šiauliai „Havana“ „Gyvatnešis“

Pic.8
2009.08.26, Zarasai, „Menuo Juodaragis“

Pic.9
2010.04.23, Kulionys „Joré“

Pic.10
2009.06.14, Joniškis „Kilkim Žaibu“

Pic.11
2009.08.26, Zarasai, „Ménuo Juodaragis“

Pic.12
2010.04.23, Kulionys „Jorė“

Pic.13
2009.06.14, Joniškis „Kilkim Žaibu“

Pic.14
2008.04.26, Vilnius, „Obtest albumo pristatymas“

Pic.15
2009.08.26, Zarasai, „Ménuo Juodaragis“

Pic.16
2009.06.14, Joniškis „Kilkim Žaibu“

Pic.17
2008.03.11, Vilnius, „Tėvynei - Tūkstantmetis“

Pic.18
2009.08.26, Zarasai, „Mėnuo Juodaragis“

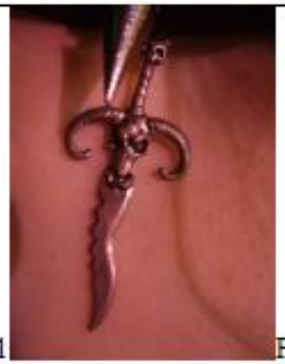
Pic.19
2009.06.14, Joniškis „Kilkim Žaibu“

Pic.20
2008.03.11, Vilnius, „Tėvynei - Tūkstantmetis“

Pic.21
2009.08,26, Zarasai, „Mėnuo Juodaragis“

Pic.22 	Pic.23 	Pic.24
Metal	“Pagan Metal”	Religious pagan

Appendix No.2 "Accessories"

Metal	Pagan
Pic.1  Pendant symbolizing ritual dagger	Pic.2 Brass spiral (grass-snake, eternity)
Pic.3 Spiked "chocker" necklace	Pic.4 Brass collar

Pic.5 Pentagram

Pic.6 Clay pendants with "Mėnuo Juodaragis" logos

Pic.7 Leather bracelet

Pic.8 Brass bracelet

Pic.9 Spiked bracelet	Pic.10 Baltic brass "Warrior" bracelet
Pic.11 Spiked bracelet	Pic.12 Brass bracelet
Metal	**Pagan**

Pic.13 Spiked bracelet, covering all forearm

Pic.14 Brass bracelet, grass-snake, worn on biceps

Pic.15 Leather belt covered with metal plates

Pic.16 Brass grass-snake swastika belt buckle, symbol of the Sun

Pic.17 Ring covering all finger	Pic.18 Brass rings, grass-snake and duality/harmony.
Metal	**Pagan**

Pic.19 Thor‘s hammer

Pic.20 Celtic cross

Pic.21 Inverted cross

Pic.22 Inverted pentagram

Pic.23 Inverted pentagram with goats head

Pic.24 Traditional belt

Pic.25 Amber pendants

Pic.26 Brass brooch

Appendix No. 3 "Band logos"

"Heavy metal" logos

Pic.1

Pic.2

Pic.3

Pic.4

Pic.5

Pic.6

"Power metal" logos

Pic.7

Pic.8

Pic.9

Pic.10

Pic.11

Pic.12

Pic.13

"Thrash metal" logos

Pic.14

Pic.15

Pic.16

Pic.17

Pic.18

Pic.19

"Death metal" logos

Pic.20

Pic.21

Pic.22

Pic.23

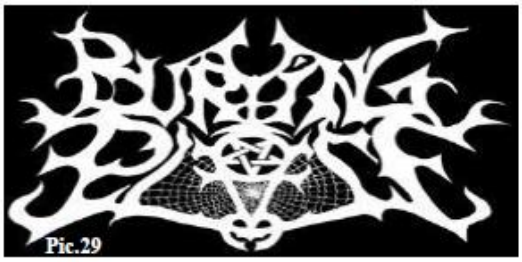
Pic.24

Pic.25

Pic.26

Pic.27

Pic.28


Pic.29

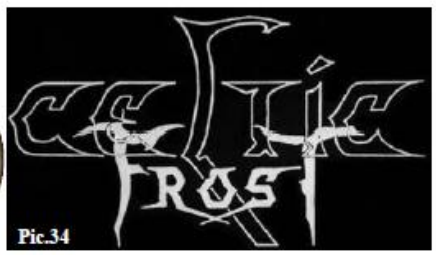
Pic.30

Pic.31

"Black metal" logos

Pic.32

Pic.33



Pic.34

Pic.35 Pic.36 Pic.37

Pic.38 Pic.39 Pic.40

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Pic.41 Pic.42 Pic.43

Pic.44

Pic.45

Pic.46

Pic.47

Pic.48

Pic.49

"Pagan Metal" logos

Pic.50

Pic.51

Pic.52

Pic.53

Pic.54

Pic.55

Pic.56

Pic.57

Pic.58

Pic.59

Pic.60

Pic.61

Appendix No. 4 "Pantheon"

Pic. 1 Statue of Perkūnas in Kulionys. In future temple for him.

Pic. 2 Statue of Perkūnas in Joniškis. Perkūnas is shown riding a carriage pulled by goat.

Pic. 3 Statue of goddess Žemyna in Kulionys.

Pic. 4 Statue of goddess Žemyna in Joniškis.

Pic. 5 Statue of goddess Gabija in Joniškis.

Pic.6. Statue of god Rūgutis in Joniškis

Pic. 7 Statue of goddess Laumė in Joniškis.

3

Appendix No. 5. "Mėnuo Juodaragis"

Pic.1 "Camping site"

Pic.2 "Ritualoak"

Pic.3 "Karionys performance"

Pic.4 "Karionys performance"

Pic.5 "Archery range"

Pic.6 "Camp of Karionys"

Pic.7 "Camp of Karionys"

Pic.8 "Yard of crafts"

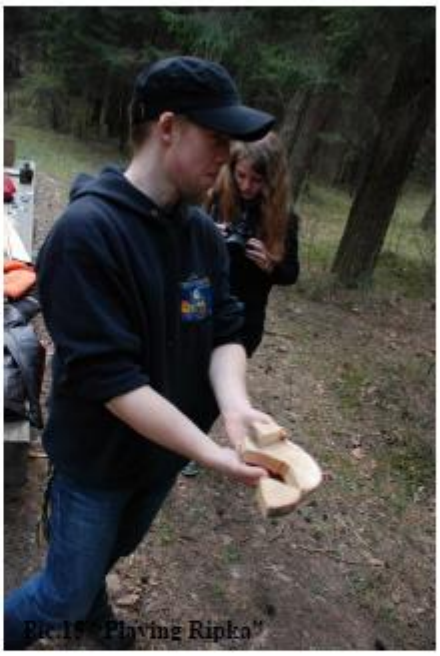
Pic.9 "MJR logo"

Pic.10 "Little stage"

Pic.11 "Playing Ripka"

Pic.12 "Playing Ripka"

Pic.13 "Playing Ripka"



Pic.15 "Playing Ripka"

Pic.14 "Playing Ripka"

Appendix No. 6. "Rituals"

Pic.1 "Altar in Klaipėda"

Pic.2 "Altar in Kaunas"

Pic.3 “Equipment for Ritual”

Pic.4 “Washing of hands before ritual”

Pic.5 “Washing of hands before ritual”

Pic.5 “Offering of salt to Gabija”

Pic.6 “Offering of bread to Žemyna”

Pic.7 “Offering of kvass to Perkūnas”

Pic.8 “Burning of Morė”

3

APPENDIX NO. 7 „SLANG VOCABULARY“

“Alkometalas” – is member of metal culture, who is a “metalhead” not for the music, but for drinking.

Alternative – something that is not mainstream. It could be used to describe music, style, and worldviews and so on.

“Antranamis” – Pub “Antri namai” in Kaunas, place were members of alternative cultures meet and party.

“Apšilimas” – Gathering before concert. During it “metalheads” drink beer and share news.

“Auka seniems dievams” – is ritualistic spilling of first sip of beer or other drink on the ground as offering to ancient gods. The title is taken from a song by band “Obtest”.

“Bambalys” – is the plastic beer storage container. Usually it contains 2 liters or more.

“Banglas” – is title with negative meaning used by “forsai” and “fyfos” to offend members of alternative cultures.

Barbakanas – Defensive wall in Vilnius, place were alternative cultures meet.

Battle metal – is Black metal category, using lots of war lyrics and images.

Black metal –Black metal is a style of metal which emphasizes anti-Christianity, Satanism and other forms of rebellion against mainstream religion.

“Blekas” - Black metal.

“Blekerys” – “metalhead” who prefers “Black metal”.

“Brutalu” – this word is usually used to describe liked music.

“Budulis” – other name of “forsas”

“Būdkė” – place were alternative cultures meet, near old harbor and Vytautas church in Kaunas

Death metal – Style of metal which emphasizes, signs of violence, gore, sex and similar.

“Defas” – Death metal

“Deferis” – “metalhead” who prefers “Death metal”

“Devyniaragis” – Alternative title for “Devyniaragio Romuva”. “Devyniaragis” means nine horned and it is character from Christmas folk song, who brings back the sun.

EMO – alternative youth culture risen from punk culture, and emphasizing emotional music and life style.

"Ferma" – term for portal ferrum.lt

"Festas" – Open air festival.

"Forsas" – word has his core meaning from the word "force", people who are described as "forsas" are usually uneducated and aggressive to everything which they do not understand.

"Fyfa" – a female which is uneducated, but emphasizes a great deal to her looks. It can be said that "fyfa" is a synonymous to "blond jokes"

"Galera" – non existing pub in Kaunas, that was the gathering place for alternative youths.

"Gotas" – Goth, the alternative youth cultures which arose at the end of the 20th century in Britain, they dress in black or red and white or use clothing from the "Victorian" period or mix both. They exaggerate sadness, depression and death.

"Groulas" – style of vocals usually used in Death metal.

"Headbangas" – rhythmic shaking of the head by metal music. Characterizing behavior of "metalheads", could be called one form of dance.

Heavy metal – style of music that arose from blues and hard rock, but it is harder and faster than both. Lyrics range from war and politics to partying and having a good time.

"Inkariukai" – is old style training shoes, produced by former Kaunas "Inkaras" factory. Now this name is used to describe most of "Converse" style shoes.

"Juodmetalis" – is Lithuanian word for black metal.

"Kamufliažkės" – militaristic style pants.

"Kerzai" – are combat boots.

"Kilkim žaibu" – is the "black" and "pagan" metal festival.

"Koncas" – concert.

"Koža" – is leather jacket.

"LTJS'as" – Union of National Youths of Lithuania.

"Meinstrymas" – Mainstream, pop culture and music.

"Metalistas" – is a member of metal culture, "metalhead".

"Metalas" – music style which is an umbrella term for hard, fast music, mainly performed with electric guitars, drums and vocals.

“Mėnuo Juodaragis” - festival of contemporary Baltic culture and neo folk music.

“Mitalas” – Metal music.

“Mulen Ružas” – former “Union headquarters” in Vilnius. Now some of it used for alternative concerts and festivals.

“Neformalai” – word used to describe all members of various alternative youth cultures.

“Niu rokai” – Gothic style shoes.

North Metal – Scandinavian metal genre, that sings about Nordic nature and Vikings.

“Olus” – Beer.

“Paganas” – Pagan metal.

Pagan Metal – metal genre that emphasize ancient cultures their mythology and history. This genre also, often uses folk instruments and folk songs. Mostly performed in mother tongues.

“Pankas” – Member of punk culture. Punk culture is one of the alternative youth cultures, which protest against rich society and their protest is expressed through weird clothing and even weirder hairstyles.

“Pisgotis/Pisgotė” – Lithuanian term for “poser”

“Pogo” – is type of behavior. It is jumping in the crowd and pushing each other. Looking from a side “pogo” looks similar to fighting, but there are rules to it.

“Pop kultūra”/”Popsas” – is the popular culture.

Poser - used to describe musicians and “metalheads” who play this kind of music for money, fame, popularity, but do not believe in their art and also they do not represent it outside of the stage or concert.

“Rokai” – Festival “Roko naktys”.

“Seitan” – is the proverb of members of black metal culture.

“Skinas – Member of skinhead culture. They emphasize nationalism and right wing politics, are against foreigners, other races and so on. Members of skinhead culture differ from others by their clean shaved heads, military pants and “bomber” jackets.

“Skrymas” – screaming vocal usually used in black metal.

“Soliakas” – guitar solo.

“Steidždaivingas” – jumping from the stage to a crowd during concerts.

Trash metal – subgenre of metal music, characterized by speed and aggression. Uses low guitar riffs and solos. Lyrics are based on politics, war and social issues.

"Trešas" – Thrash metal

"Tunelis" – Enlarged hole for earring.

"Tr00" (true) - means that bands or "metalheads" look to metal music as their world and express their true emotions and thoughts.

Unity – hand sign used by "metalheads". It is raised fist with index and little fingers extended.

Wall of death – is a type of pogo, when two rows are formed and run and clash to each other.

"Žalias daiktas" – Name for strong alcohol drink "Žalios Devyniarios".